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**Language and Identity in Ancient Narratives:
The Relationship between Speech Patterns and
Social Context in the *Acts of the Apostles*,
Acts of John, and *Acts of Philip***

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**For the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
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Declaration

The work contained within has been composed by me and is entirely my own work. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Julia A. Snyder

Abstract

Drawing on insights from sociolinguistics, the thesis investigates the relationship between speech patterns and social context in three ancient Greek narratives: the Acts of the Apostles, Acts of John, and Acts of Philip. The thesis explores how characters' speech patterns correlate with their Christian status, and with the Christian status of their addressees. The relationship between speech patterns and gentile/Jewish identity is also assessed. Linguistic variables include plural forms of address and third-person references to Jesus and the Christian god.

The thesis shows that Christian characters are portrayed as speaking differently amongst themselves than when addressing non-Christian characters. It also demonstrates that parameters of sociolinguistic variation in each text point to differing understandings of Christian identity. It is argued that attention to sociolinguistic relationships highlights the importance of ascetic practices and baptism in the Acts of Philip, the gradual nature of Christian conversion in the Acts of John, and the close relationship between Jewish and Christian identity in the Acts of the Apostles. The thesis also examines characterization and implied audience, and argues that attention to social context is necessary to appreciate the full significance of an author's choice of words.

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The narratives analyzed in this thesis include many scenes in which extraordinary events, often occurring in consequence to prayer, lead to the acclamation of the power of the “one god,” and in this area, too, I must therefore acknowledge my debt. This “one god” deserves ultimate credit for the work contained herein.

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Julia Snyder

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Abbreviations

CChrSA *Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum*

Concerning the Acts of the Apostles

Acts *Acts of the Apostles*
Luke *Gospel of Luke*
Vaticanus manuscript *Vat. gr. 1209*
Acts^B Acts as in manuscript *Vat. gr. 1209*
Luke^B Luke as in manuscript *Vat. gr. 1209*

Concerning the Acts of John

AJ *Acts of John*
R manuscript *Patmos 188*
Z manuscript *Mezsojuso 2*
AJ^{RZ} AJ as in manuscripts *Patmos 188* and *Mezsojuso 2*
AJ^R AJ as in manuscript *Patmos 188*
AJ^Z AJ as in manuscript *Mezsojuso 2*
AJ^C AJ as in manuscript *Vindob. hist. gr. 63*

AJR *Acts of John at Rome*
AJPr *Acts of John by Prochorus*
PLH present living human

Concerning the Acts of Philip

APh *Acts of Philip*
APh^A APh as in manuscript *Xenophontos 32*
APh^V APh as in manuscript *Vat. gr. 824*

Chapter 1: Introduction

If you had a database of everything you had ever said, the file size would be enormous. In your lifetime, you have made a huge number of statements, spoken on countless topics, and asked a wide variety of questions. You may feel that you have just been saying the same things over and over, but detailed analysis would reveal that your words, inflection, and tone have rarely been precisely the same, even when making the same sort of utterance.

Why does human speech vary so much? Why did you address your brother yesterday as “John,” this morning as “Mr. Jones,” and this afternoon as “dear”? Did the setting make a difference? Were your words influenced by the other people in the room? And what is the significance of the fact that you just referred to the box-shaped people mover in your building as an “elevator” rather than a “lift”? Did your choice of words relate to your identity, to who you are or want to be? Did you choose your words, consciously or otherwise, in light of your addressee(s)?

These are the sorts of questions that have inspired the current research.

Statement of the Thesis

This thesis investigates the relationship between speech patterns and social context in three ancient narratives, the Acts of the Apostles, the Acts of John, and the Acts of Philip, analyzing how characters’ speech patterns relate to their own identities, and to the identities of their addressees. Each case study begins by tracing correlations between select linguistic and social variables, then illustrates how these sociolinguistic relationships shed light on social dynamics, contribute to characterization and the development of literary themes, inform the question of the implied and intended audience, further understanding of compositional processes, and highlight the social significance of words and expressions used.

In particular, the thesis demonstrates that:

- Linguistic patterns in the Acts of the Apostles point to a primary Christian and secondary Christian-Jewish insider space, with Christian characters holding non-Christian gentiles at a greater linguistic distance than non-Christian Jews.
- Sociolinguistic variation in the Acts of John contributes to a portrayal of conversion as a process and calls into question the common view that the Acts of John was written for a non-Christian audience.
- Sociolinguistic differences between sections of the Acts of Philip shed light on compositional processes, confirming that the extant text is a collected narrative and that parts of APh 8ff. have been rearranged. In certain episodes, linguistic relationships contribute to multi-dimensional and graded constructions of Christian identity, with more required for full Christian status than simply “belief.”

In these ways, the thesis enhances understanding of a well-known text, the Acts of the Apostles, and furthers scholarly discussion on two texts that have been little researched, the Acts of Philip and the Acts of John. Its primary purpose, however, is to introduce and test a conceptual framework, and the conceptual implications of the study extend far beyond the particular interpretive results. By demonstrating that speech patterns correlate with elements of social context in the narratives—particularly with the identity of addressees—the thesis shows that the “meanings” of the words and expressions analyzed have not only referential or theological, but also social aspects. Because this accords with sociolinguistic observations for modern languages, and because the same sorts of relationships are found in multiple ancient texts, the results of the thesis imply that social factors, particularly the identity of addressees, should be considered whenever the significance of words in an ancient text is discussed. The results of the thesis do not encourage arbitrary attribution of social significance to expressions found in ancient texts, however. By demonstrating that sociolinguistic relationships differ between the narratives analyzed, the thesis indicates that sociolinguistic assertions should always be supported by appropriate evidence, calling into question any claim regarding the relationship between speech patterns and social context that is not based on comparative speech data, or, when no comparative data is available, by either meta-linguistic information or a comprehensive survey of speech patterns across an extensive range of ancient texts.

Asking Sociolinguistic Questions of Ancient Texts

The type of analysis done in this thesis will seem natural to sociolinguists, but may not be familiar to all readers in Classics and Biblical Studies. This is not the first project to approach ancient texts from a sociolinguistic perspective, however.

Most similar to the current research are a number of excellent studies by Eleanor Dickey, who has analyzed how forms of address in Latin and Greek corpora reflect the relationship between speakers and addressees.¹ Although most of Dickey's work on Greek forms of address focusses on an earlier time period than that of the texts examined in this thesis, her results nevertheless serve as a valuable point of comparison for the current research, and her meticulous application of sociolinguistic methodology to ancient texts is to be commended to anyone interested in conducting similar studies of their own.

The project also has affinities with the work of Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, who has drawn extensively on linguistic and sociolinguistic insights in her study of the Acts of the Apostles as represented in Codex Bezae.² In her monograph *The Bezan Text of Acts: A Contribution of Discourse Analysis to Textual Criticism*, Read-Heimerdinger argues that the Bezan text exhibits a consistent purposefulness in its use of language, and in a number of contexts she concludes that speech patterns reflect the perspectives of speaking characters. Since her monograph also evokes the importance of addressees and includes discussion of references to Jesus and the Christian god, the primary linguistic variables examined in this thesis, it is an important counterpoint to the current work. The emphases of the projects differ, however. The current study focuses on the Vaticanus rather than the Bezan tradition of the Acts of the Apostles and chooses to

¹ See, e.g., Eleanor Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address: From Herodotus to Lucian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); "The Greek Address System of the Roman Period and Its Relationship to Latin," *The Classical Quarterly* 54 (2004): 494–527; *Latin Forms of Address: From Plautus to Apuleius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). She summarizes her results in Eleanor Dickey, "Forms of Address and Markers of Status," in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, ed. Egbert J. Bakker (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 327–37.

² See Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, *The Bezan Text of Acts: A Contribution of Discourse Analysis to Textual Criticism* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002); Josep Rius-Camps and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae: A Comparison with the Alexandrian Tradition*, 4 vols. (London: T&T Clark International, 2004–2009).

assess the relationship between speech patterns and addressees systematically, and at the level of substantive noun phrases, leaving aside some of Read-Heimerdinger's questions such as the significance of word order, spelling, and article use. While the two studies have much in common, therefore, their relationship is essentially complementary.

The current project also stands in a complementary relationship to a number of other recent studies that have employed sociolinguistic insights to further understanding of ancient texts and communities. In the field of Classics, Andreas Willi has investigated a variety of sociolinguistic topics, including language change, women's speech, and "foreigner talk" in Aristophanes.³ Stephen Colvin has explored language attitudes by analyzing how non-Attic dialect is represented in Old Comedy.⁴ Other Classicists have taken interest in topics such as "technical language" used in medical and mathematical texts.⁵ In Biblical Studies, the most vocal advocates for sociolinguistic approaches are Stanley Porter and Jeffrey Reed, whose essays include helpful explanations of linguistic concepts such as register and discourse analysis, and examples of their implementation.⁶

³ Andreas Willi, *The Languages of Aristophanes: Aspects of Linguistic Variation in Classical Attic Greek* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). He discusses register as it relates to genre in Andreas Willi, "Register Variation," in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, ed. Egbert J. Bakker (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 297–310. On women's speech, see also Thorsten Fögen, "Female Speech," in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, ed. Egbert J. Bakker (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 311–26.

⁴ Stephen Colvin, *Dialect in Aristophanes: The Politics of Language in Ancient Greek Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Both Colvin and Dickey discuss the issue of whether one can ask sociolinguistic questions of written texts. See *ibid.*, 12–21; Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address*, 30–42. Mikhail Bakhtin has also thought about ancient literature from an essentially sociolinguistic perspective. See, e.g., Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas, 1981).

⁵ Francesca Schironi, "Technical Languages: Science and Medicine," in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, ed. Egbert J. Bakker (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 338–53; cf. Willi, *The Languages of Aristophanes*, 51–95. For other linguistic analyses of classical texts, see Andreas Willi, ed., *The Language of Greek Comedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁶ See, e.g., Stanley E. Porter, "Dialect and Register in the Greek of the New Testament: Theory," in *Rethinking Contexts, Rereading Texts: Contributions from the Social Sciences to New Testament Interpretation*, ed. M. Daniel Carroll R. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 190–208; Stanley E. Porter, "Register in the Greek of the New Testament: Application with Reference to Mark's Gospel," in *ibid.*, 209–29; Jeffrey T. Reed, "Modern Linguistics and the New Testament: A Basic Guide to Theory, Terminology, and Literature," in *Approaches to New Testament Study*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and David Tombs (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 202–65. See also the essays in Stanley E. Porter, ed., *Diglossia and Other Topics in New Testament Linguistics* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

Colin Hemer has employed sociolinguistic concepts to discuss the nature of New Testament Greek vocabulary, discussing issues related to the uniqueness—or not—of words used by Christian authors.⁷ Graham Stanton has suggested that the term “gospel” developed a distinctive sense in early Christianity and served an identity-marking function.⁸ Philip Harland has demonstrated that the use of “brother” language for fellow group members is not a unique feature of Judean or Christian speech in the Graeco-Roman world.⁹ Peter Tomson has argued that speech situation is relevant to the distribution of the terms “Jew,” “Israel,” and “Hebrew” in some early Jewish and Christian texts.¹⁰ Carol Newsom has discussed the functions of “insider language” for the sectarian community of Qumran.¹¹ John Barclay has suggested that the adjective πνευματικός, “spiritual,” functioned as “insider language” in Pauline Christian communities.¹² Together, these works draw on a variety of different sociolinguistic ideas to elucidate ancient texts, language practices, and communities.

Another recent work to draw on sociolinguistic concepts is Paul Trebilco’s *Self-designations and Group Identity in the New Testament*.¹³ Trebilco catalogues the distribution of substantive expressions used to refer to Christian groups in the New Testament and explores the literary contexts in which they appear, discussing how they

⁷ Colin J. Hemer, “Reflections on the Nature of New Testament Greek Vocabulary,” *Tyndale Bulletin* 38 (1987): 65–92. Cf. Porter’s critique in Porter, “Dialect.”

⁸ Graham Stanton, *Jesus and Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 49–52, 61.

⁹ Philip A. Harland, *Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians* (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 1, 63–81; Philip A. Harland, “Familial Dimensions of Group Identity: ‘Brothers’ (adelphoi) in Associations of the Greek East,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 124 (2005): 491–513.

¹⁰ Peter J. Tomson, “‘Jews’ in the Gospel of John as Compared with the Palestinian Talmud, the Synoptics, and Some New Testament Apocrypha,” in *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. Reimund Bieringer, Didier Pollefeyt, and Frederique Vandecasteele-Vanneuville (Aachen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001), 301–340; Peter J. Tomson, “The Names ‘Israel’ and ‘Jew’ in Ancient Judaism and in the New Testament,” *Bijdragen* 47 (1986): 120–40, 266–89.

¹¹ Carol Ann Newsom, “Constructing ‘We, You, and the Others’ through Non-polemical Discourse,” in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Gröningen*, ed. Florentino García Martínez (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 13–21; *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 91–190.

¹² John M. G. Barclay, “Pneumatikos in the Social Dialect of Pauline Christianity,” in *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins: Essays in Honor of James D.G. Dunn*, ed. Graham N. Stanton, Bruce W. Longenecker, and Stephen C. Barton (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 157–67.

¹³ Paul R. Trebilco, *Self-designations and Group Identity in the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

illuminate the authors' viewpoints and how they may have functioned to shape the audience's sense of identity and to further the construction of group boundaries. Trebilco also explores the range of people included in the designations and reflects on their historical development, suggesting that terms such as "saints" and "the assembly" may be "abbreviations" that form elements of a Christian "social dialect." Although concrete evidence for some of these conclusions is minimal, the issues are fascinating and his hypotheses worth considering.

Within this set of recent studies that approach ancient texts with sociolinguistic awareness, the current project plays a particular role. Rather than asking the same questions as the studies described above, it seeks to fill out our collective understanding of ancient language use by focusing on a different aspect of social context that has, apart from Dickey's work, almost never been systematically explored. While other studies have often investigated how ways of speaking in ancient texts relate to genre, situation, or speaker identity, the current project is distinctive in systematically assessing the relationship between speech patterns and the identity of addressees. This difference in emphasis exists even in some cases where studies have employed similar terminology. Although Stanton and Trebilco employ the phrase "insider language" in their work, an expression also used in this thesis, their studies actually focus more on speaker than addressee identity. In the current thesis, the phrase "insider language" is reserved for speech patterns whose usage relates to the "insider" status of addressees.

As will be explained below, the current study's focus on addressees is by no means meant to challenge the importance of the sociolinguistic factors that other scholars have explored, nor is the project intended as a critique of any particular scholar's work. The results of the study do present a challenge to two types of conversations sometimes held about language use in ancient texts, however. First, by demonstrating that speech patterns in several different texts correlate with aspects of addressee identity, the study indicates that a relationship between speech patterns and audience factors is a real possibility in ancient texts, and one that should therefore be considered whenever the significance of words in an ancient text is discussed. The results of the thesis thus call for a broadening of perspective not only in linguistic analysis, but also in the writing of

articles and commentaries more generally. Secondly, by showing that relationships between speech patterns and social context differ between the narratives analyzed, the thesis challenges the validity of claims regarding sociolinguistic relationships that are not evidenced by appropriate meta-linguistic, comprehensive, or comparative speech data, especially assertions that certain expressions are “insider language”—that is, that the writer or speaker would not have used these expressions if addressing an “outsider” audience—when no comparative data has been provided to demonstrate that the author would actually have spoken differently with other addressees.

To give an example of the latter sort of claim, Trebilco in *Self-designations* suggests that some group designations found in the New Testament, although they were used by Christians addressing other Christians, would probably not have been employed if Christians were addressing non-Christians. He posits that Paul would typically have used the term “brothers” only when addressing Christians, for instance.¹⁴ Unfortunately, Trebilco provides little evidence for this conclusion, and as he himself acknowledges, we simply do not know how Paul would have spoken to those who did not share his Christian affiliation.¹⁵ Trebilco’s claim regarding “brothers” may be correct, but it is nevertheless an unsubstantiated hypothesis, and one wishes the latter fact were more clearly stated in his monograph. As will be demonstrated in chapter 2, the author of the Acts of the Apostles would probably have disagreed with his conclusion about “brothers,” while the results of thesis as a whole suggest that making this sort of sociolinguistic assertion without providing comparative, comprehensive, or meta-linguistic evidence is generally unwise.

In a moment, a few key concepts from sociolinguistics will be introduced that are relevant to the current research. First, however, two clarifications as to the nature of the current project are in order. To begin with, it should be remarked that it is not the intention of this thesis to apply sociolinguistic theories to ancient texts. Sociolinguists would be the first to acknowledge that their theories are works in progress, subject to

¹⁴ He suggests that early Christians may have been more likely to refer to themselves as “Christians” when addressing those who were not part of their group (ibid., 37–38, 67, 294–97, 304; see also 177–78).

¹⁵ See ibid., 304.

ongoing refinement and change, and it would misrepresent the field to treat sociolinguistic observations as “facts” and to “apply” them to literary works in a mechanistic way. Rather, this thesis is itself a sociolinguistic as well as a literary study. It begins not with “answers” drawn from sociolinguistics, but with sociolinguistic questions, asking those questions of ancient texts. It leaves open the possibility that ancient writers use language differently than modern speakers.¹⁶

It may also be helpful to clarify the sorts of historical claims this thesis makes. The thesis does not argue that speech patterns in the narratives reflect actual conversational practices in authors’ communities, and in fact, I am skeptical of our ability to extrapolate from literary works to spoken language, as will be explained in chapter 5. The thesis does, however, suggest that observing relationships between speech patterns and social context can provide insight into compositional and redactional processes and the nature of a text’s intended audience, as well as shedding light on social dynamics and theological viewpoints as represented in the narratives. The extent to which the latter reflect historical experiences is a complicated question beyond the linguistic focus of this thesis, but one that would no doubt repay further study.

Let us now listen in on a few sociolinguistic conversations that hover in the background of the current project. More questions will be introduced here than the thesis itself discusses; the bonus information will further clarify the nature of the claims to be made, and will introduce possibilities for future research.

Variation in Speech

Contemporary linguists have analyzed variation in human speech from a number of angles. Some have observed that different individuals often seem to speak in different ways. This is often referred to as “inter-speaker variation,” and is a type of linguistic variation explored in a number of the studies mentioned above. Linguists interested in

¹⁶ Such would no doubt be of interest to sociolinguists. Cf. Eleanor Dickey, “The Ancient Greek Address System and Some Proposed Sociolinguistic Universals,” *Language in Society* 26 (1997): 1–13.

this type of variation have asked how an individual's way of speaking may relate to factors such as his or her:

- Social class
- Ethnicity
- Gender
- Age
- Regional identity
- National identity
- Education
- Employment
- Life experiences
- Participation in social networks.¹⁷

This thesis discusses inter-speaker variation to a certain extent, exploring how speech patterns in the narratives relate to speakers' Christian status, and to their gentile-Jewish identity.

The primary focus, however, is on intra-speaker variation, that is, on variation within the speech of single individuals or types of individuals. The thesis seeks to understand how the speech patterns of Christian characters vary according to their social context. A number of linguists have researched this type of variation, which is often referred to as "stylistic" variation, asking how an individual's way of speaking may relate to factors such as his or her:

- Addressees
- Bystanders
- Target
- Topic
- Setting
- Genre
- Motives
- Emotions
- Attitudes
- Purposes
- Key

¹⁷ For an overview of research on inter-speaker variation, see Scott F. Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation and Change* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 53–89; and J. K. Chambers, *Sociolinguistic Theory*, Revised edition (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

- Voicing
- Stance.¹⁸

Let us now briefly review a few of the latter concepts.

Audience Design

Some linguists have sought to understand intra-speaker, or stylistic, variation by focusing on audience factors. One such approach is called “Audience Design”: Allan Bell has suggested that “speakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience.”¹⁹ How a person speaks, Bell observes, may be influenced by the identity of his or her addressees, as well as by other people in the room. Bell includes both addressees and bystanders in the category of “audience,” dividing bystanders into several groups. He suggests that “auditors,” whom the speaker knows about and ratifies, may have more influence on speech than “overhearers” whom the speaker knows about but does not ratify, or “eavesdroppers” whose presence is unknown.²⁰ In the most recent articulations of his theory, Bell emphasizes that absent “referee” groups also influence how an individual speaks. These are “third persons not usually present at an interaction but possessing such salience for a speaker that they influence style even in their absence.”²¹

¹⁸ For an overview of research on intra-speaker variation, see Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation*, 90–103; Natalie Schilling-Estes, “Investigating Stylistic Variation,” in *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, ed. J. K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 375–401; and Penelope Brown and Colin Fraser, “Speech as a Marker of Situation,” in *Social Markers in Speech*, ed. Klaus R. Scherer and Howard Giles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 33–62. A helpful schematic is provided by *ibid.*, 35. Allan Bell writes, “I take the sociolinguist’s core question about language style to be this: *Why did this speaker say it this way on this occasion?*” (Allan Bell, “Back in Style: Reworking Audience Design,” in *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*, ed. Penelope Eckert and John R. Rickford [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001], 139; italics original).

¹⁹ Bell, “Back in Style,” 143; cf. Allan Bell, “Language Style as Audience Design,” *Language in Society* 13 (1984): 145–204. Although he uses the word “design,” he remarks that this may not always be a conscious process (*ibid.*, 199 n. 10).

²⁰ Bell, “Language Style,” 159, 172–78. Similar distinctions between types of bystanders had been made by Erving Goffman, *Forms of Talk* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), 9–10, 131–37. On bystanders, see also Brown and Fraser, “Speech as a Marker,” 45.

²¹ According to Bell, “Referee design can involve a speaker shifting to identify more strongly with their own ingroup, or to an outgroup with which they wish to identify,” or to both simultaneously (Bell, “Back in Style,” 147; cf. 165). Although Bell included “referee design” in his original theory, he places more emphasis on it in the later reworking.

It is not necessary to go into the details of Bell's theory here. The main idea is simply that how an individual speaks at any given time may be influenced by other people, especially his or her addressees. This is the primary hypothesis tested in this thesis. The thesis asks whether characters' speech patterns co-vary with the identity of their addressees. On occasion, the impact of bystanders on how characters speak is also discussed.²²

"Acts of Identity" and Targeting

Although the thesis focuses on addressees, it does not suggest, as Bell does, that audience and referee factors are necessarily the primary explanation for intra-speaker variation. Stylistic variation can also be approached in other ways. R. B. Le Page and Andrée Tabouret-Keller, for instance, have suggested viewing linguistic behaviour as "a series of *acts of identity* in which people reveal both their personal identity and their search for social roles."²³ When an individual speaks in a certain way, this approach suggests, he or she is "essentially making a statement about identity,"²⁴ about gender, ethnicity, educational background, group membership, or several of these at once.

Understanding linguistic behaviour as "acts of identity" is not inimical to an addressee focus, and this view shares features with the idea of referee design, but it does raise the question of whether individuals always design their speech solely with others in mind. In some cases, one suspects, an individual's most important audience may be himself. Alternatively, his way of speaking may be directed, or "targeted," at some combination

²² Although I have only found it necessary to invoke bystanders in one narrative, the possibility of bystander influence should always be kept in mind. It has been observed in some contemporary research. In a study of pre-school children in Trinidad, Valerie Youssef observed that the presence of a bystander such as a child's mother sometimes influenced how the child spoke more than the identity of his or her addressee. See, e.g., Valerie Youssef, "Children's Linguistic Choices: Audience Design and Societal Norms," *Language in Society* 22 (1993): 268. She suggests, "The individuals present who command the greatest attention of the speaker have the greatest controlling effect on code, whether they are addressee or auditor" (ibid., 270).

²³ R. B. Le Page and Andrée Tabouret-Keller, *Acts of Identity: Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 14. Italics original.

²⁴ Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation*, 93.

of self, audience, and referee groups.²⁵ Little space is devoted to “acts of identity” and “targeting” in this thesis, but these questions are worth keeping in mind.

Other Contextual Factors

Furthermore, by focusing on addressees I do not mean to claim that the linguistic variables analyzed may not also co-vary with other contextual factors. In fact, I am sure they do. Let me give a few examples of other contextual factors that are thought by linguists to influence speech.

Modern studies have sometimes observed a relationship between speech patterns and topic,²⁶ a relationship that may also appear in some ancient texts. One could consider, perhaps, whether Christian authors refer to Jesus differently when discussing community dynamics than in relation to ritual practice.

Setting could also be significant: particular ways of speaking in ancient texts could arise in connection with specific locations or social situations, such as dinner parties, temples, or law courts.²⁷ Ways of speaking could also correlate with genres of speech: we may encounter expressions used particularly in defense speeches or in prayers.²⁸

How an individual speaks at any given time may also relate to his or her motives, emotions, attitudes, or purposes.²⁹ Bourhis comments:

²⁵ On “targeting,” see Nikolas Coupland, *Style: Language Variation and Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 112.

²⁶ On the relationship between ways of speaking and topic, see Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation*, 99; Natalie Schilling-Estes, “Constructing Ethnicity in Interaction,” *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 8 (2004): 163–95; Jan-Petter Blom and John J. Gumperz, “Social Meaning in Linguistic Structure: Code-Switching in Norway,” in *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*, ed. John J. Gumperz and Dell H. Hymes (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), 425. In some cases, linguistic variables have been observed to co-vary with both topic and addressee, e.g., John R. Rickford and Faye McNair-Knox, “Addressee- and Topic-influenced Style-shift: A Quantitative Sociolinguistic Study,” in *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*, ed. Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 235–76.

²⁷ On the relationship between ways of speaking and setting, see Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation*, 94; Brown and Fraser, “Speech as a Marker,” 44–45.

²⁸ On speech genre, see Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation*, 95; Coupland, *Style*, 16. Coupland remarks that “styling can reshape conventional speech genres.”

²⁹ Bell, “Language Style,” 168.

The assumption must be that a speaker's behaviour is never completely determined by social norms and rules within a situation... Individuals' needs, motives, perceptions, and attributions must play some part in determining the speech strategy.³⁰

With regard to ancient texts, one could ask how speech patterns relate to the moods of authors such as the apostle Paul, and whether linguistic variation in narratives reflects the motives of various characters.

When asking about the significance of words in ancient texts, we can also take into account the “key” in which they are uttered: are they expressed in a serious or mocking tone?³¹ Also worth considering is whether the speaker is adopting the voice of someone else, as occurs in sarcastic statements or in performance contexts.³² Finally, some linguists emphasize the importance of observing a speaker's “stance.” How certain is the speaker about his or her assertion? Does the speaker adopt a friendly or dominating stance towards his or her interlocutor?³³ All of these may affect the significance of what a person says, or what an ancient author writes.

Embracing Complexity

Understanding the significance of an author's words may now seem like a more complex task than one had imagined. Indeed, sociolinguists today reject simplistic explanations for linguistic variation; they emphasize that communication is multifaceted and our understanding of it incomplete. Although one might like to know which of the factors discussed above—topic, setting, genre, mood, or addressees—are most likely to influence an author's words, research suggests that a universal hierarchy of priority may not exist. Kiesling comments, “In some communities identities may be

³⁰ Richard Yvon Bourhis, “Language in Ethnic Interaction: A Social Psychological Approach,” in *Language and Ethnic Relations*, ed. Howard Giles and Bernard Saint-Jacques (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1979), 119. Also to be considered are the speaker's “moods, motives, feelings, beliefs, and loyalties.”

³¹ On “key,” see Coupland, *Style*, 114.

³² On “voicing,” see *ibid.*, 102, 114; cf. Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation*, 96; Schilling-Estes, “Constructing,” 188–90.

³³ Kiesling, commenting on Nikolas Coupland's study of stylistic variation at a travel agency, suggests that it is the travel agent's stance towards clients that leads her to accommodate her speech (Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation*, 99–100). On “stance,” see Alexandra Jaffe, ed., *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

important; in others it may be that addressees are more important.”³⁴ Coupland writes in the same vein:

It seems that imposing some general theoretical priority in favour of speakers or listeners as the targets or beneficiaries of stylistic processes is too restrictive... The explanatory devil is in the detail of particular social contexts and their particular relational configurations.³⁵

Allan Bell has also revised his original suggestion that speech style is fundamentally designed for a speaker’s audience:

We are always positioning ourselves in relation to our own ingroup and other groups, and our interlocutors... Yes, we are designing our talk for our audience. But we are also concurrently designing it in relation to other referee groups, including our own ingroup.³⁶

Multiple factors are usually shaping the way an individual speaks at any given time, and we may therefore discover that linguistic variables in ancient texts co-vary with more than one contextual element. In such situations, we should be aware that these factors may be inter-related.³⁷ Topic and addressee may not be independent of one another; certain topics may only be discussed with certain interlocutors.³⁸ Addressee- and identity-related speech variation may also be connected. Kiesling comments, “A change in addressee may...change the kind of identity one wishes to ‘project.’”³⁹

It should also be kept in mind that even if correlations are established, this does not necessarily clarify the driving force behind variation in speech, especially at the level of individual utterances. Brown and Fraser comment:

If a speaker uses a formal address term,..., we do not know *a priori* whether it is because he is in a bad mood, has a standoffish personality, stands in a distant

³⁴ Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation*, 94.

³⁵ Coupland, *Style*, 80.

³⁶ Bell, “Back in Style,” 165.

³⁷ Cf. Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation*, 25. On linguistic variables that correlate with multiple contextual factors, see also Brown and Fraser, “Speech as a Marker,” 37–39.

³⁸ See Bell, “Back in Style,” 146; Bell, “Language Style,” 181–82.

³⁹ Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation*, 94.

relationship with his addressee, is engaged in an activity with a serious purpose, or is in a formal setting.⁴⁰

Likewise, simply demonstrating addressee-related variation does not indicate what exactly about the addressee motivates a change in style. Researchers John Rickford and Faye McNair-Knox observed a correlation between speech patterns and addressee in a study of one young woman's speech. They comment, however, that they are not always sure whether the girl's different ways of speaking are related to the race of her addressees or to their manner of speaking, or whether perhaps familiarity with her interlocutor is primary.⁴¹ Researcher Penelope Eckert, meanwhile, has suggested that the correlation between linguistic variables and social categories in her study may not result from a direct relationship between those variables and categories, but from the fact that individuals in those social categories tend to engage in specific practices with which the linguistic variables are more closely associated.⁴²

Further complicating our attempts to understand the significance of how a person speaks is the fact that speech not only reflects topics, settings, identities, and social structures, but also shapes those topics, structures, and identities. Bell observes that speakers may use ways of speaking "as a dynamic force to redefine an existing situation," and Coupland remarks that a number of disciplines now recognize "the *constitutive* power of language in the structuring of social categories and social life in general."⁴³ To give a concrete example, using "informal" language may reflect the fact that a speaker is in an informal

⁴⁰ Brown and Fraser, "Speech as a Marker," 56. They also remark, "Even if one's primary interest is in participant-linked markers, many of those are either linked in turn to situation, or, on closer examination, prove to be markers not of participant *per se* but of participant in a particular situation" (ibid., 58). On the complexity of the relationship between linguistic variables and situational factors, see also Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson, "Social Structure, Groups and Interaction," in *Social Markers in Speech*, ed. Klaus R. Scherer and Howard Giles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 291–341.

⁴¹ Rickford and McNair-Knox, "Addressee- and Topic-influenced Style-shift," 257; cf. Bell, "Language Style," 167.

⁴² See Penelope Eckert, *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice: The Linguistic Construction of Identity in Belten High* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 139; cf. Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnell-Ginet, "New Generalizations and Explanations in Language and Gender Research," *Language in Society* 28 (1999): 185–201; Brown and Fraser, "Speech as a Marker," 53–55. On a related note, Coupland remarks on "the limitations of assuming that a direct indexical link exists between language use and social group membership" (Coupland, *Style*, 132).

⁴³ Bell, "Language Style," 161; 182–86; Coupland, *Style*, 19 (*italics original*); cf. Bell, "Back in Style," 146–47; Schilling-Estes, "Investigating," 389.

situation, or it may be a proactive attempt by the speaker to make the situation more informal. Using “insider language” could reflect the status of addressees as members of one’s own social group, but it could also be a way of “adopting” them in.

Finally, it is worth noting that the social meaning of a particular way of speaking is not fixed. There is no primordial reservoir of “polite” speech forms from which speakers select expressions to use in polite speech contexts. Rather, the meanings of expressions are affected as they are used.⁴⁴

I bring all this up to clarify what will and will not be claimed in this thesis. The thesis demonstrates that the speech patterns attributed to characters in three ancient narratives co-vary with certain aspects of their own identities and of the identities of their addressees, and argues on this basis that social factors, particularly audience factors, should be considered whenever the significance of an expression in an ancient text is discussed. The thesis does not claim, on the other hand, that addressee focus is the primary driving force behind intra-speaker variation in the texts, nor that the linguistic variables analyzed *only* co-vary with the particular aspects of identity discussed. Communication is simply too complex a phenomenon to allow one to reach such conclusions for three separate narratives within the constraints of a single monograph. The current investigation is meant to introduce and test a conceptual framework relevant to the study of ancient texts, not to offer the last word on speech patterns in these particular narratives.

⁴⁴ Coupland remarks that it is not only the case that “language forms are allocated meanings by the sociolinguistic system and then ‘selected’ locally... Social meaning doesn’t exclusively reside in linguistic forms, or even in so-called speech communities or in speakers’ sociolinguistic histories and experiences. It is partly a situated achievement in acts of speaking” (Coupland, *Style*, 23–24). Similarly, Eckert comments, “A study of social meaning in variation,..., cannot view speakers as incidental users of a linguistic system, but must view them as agents in the continual construction and reproduction of that system. Social meaning in variation is not a static set of associations between internal linguistic variables and external social variables; it is continually created through the joint linguistic and social engagement of speakers as they navigate their ways through life” (Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 43). Cf. Schilling-Estes, “Investigating,” 392; John R. Rickford and Penelope Eckert, Introduction to *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*, ed. Penelope Eckert and John R. Rickford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 6.

Furthermore, although some of the interpretive conclusions drawn in this thesis may seem unnecessarily tentative to readers of ancient texts accustomed to making bold claims, an acknowledgement of the partial, contingent nature of my results is a fundamental part of the message I want to convey. The observations of sociolinguists caution against making definitive statements as to the significance of what a person says, even after full consideration of the factors that may have influenced his or her choice of words. As readers of ancient texts, we need to develop a habit of asking about the relationship between speech patterns and social context, and we also need to be prepared to embrace linguistic complexity.⁴⁵

Let us now look at the specific texts and variables to be analyzed in this thesis.

The Texts

The thesis investigates the relationship between speech patterns and social context in three ancient narratives: particular traditions of the *Acts of the Apostles*, *Acts of John*, and *Acts of Philip*. Each of these is an early Greek text describing what the apostles did after Jesus' resurrection and ascension.

Reasons for Choosing These Texts

These texts have been chosen because they are particularly suitable for the present investigation: they contain dialogue, in a sufficient amount to allow for fairly confident conclusions, and characters from a variety of social categories. These factors allow one to explore sociolinguistic variation within individual narratives rather than comparing across texts.

⁴⁵ Most linguists are willing to acknowledge that their conclusions are tentative. Rickford and McNair-Knox admit that some of their data is difficult to explain (Rickford and McNair-Knox, "Addressee- and Topic-influenced Style-shift," 264). Bell comments that how individuals speak may be "unpredictable beforehand, and sometimes uninterpretable *post hoc*" (Bell, "Back in Style," 163). Coupland opts against "the security – undoubtedly a false security – of simple explanatory models of style-shifting and of social organisation," noting that "the interpretive model of social practice is messy, complex and contingent" (Coupland, *Style*, 178). Also emphasizing complexity is Derek Bickerton, "What Happens When We Switch?," *York Papers in Linguistics* 9 (1980): 41–56.

There would have been benefits to focusing on a single text, but having three case studies has the advantage of ensuring that the dynamics observed are not simply idiosyncratic features of a single author's work. Comparing linguistic and social dynamics in the three narratives has also helped to clarify the patterns in each text and has greatly informed the final analysis.

This fruitful cross-pollination was facilitated by broad-level similarities between the texts. Each narrative was originally composed in Greek, and all recount stories about the early expansion of the Christian movement. Since there are "Christian" characters in each narrative, I was able to investigate how speech patterns correlate with characters' Christian status. A desire to retain this continuity of social categories led me to choose three "Acts" narratives rather than including ancient Greek novels or gospels. A desire to focus on texts composed and extant in Greek led me to choose the Acts of Philip rather than the Acts of Andrew or the Acts of Peter, for which not enough early Greek material is extant to allow robust analysis of the same social and linguistic features, or the Acts of Thomas, which is generally thought to have been composed in Syriac. Regarding the Acts of Paul and Thecla, it was deemed best to provide analysis of that tradition in another venue with fewer space constraints after the forthcoming CChrSA critical edition becomes available for readers to consult.

Finally, let me note here that the three Acts narratives examined in this thesis are not necessarily "independent" of one another. The Acts of John tradition analyzed does not cite the Acts of the Apostles explicitly, but the author(s) may well have known it.⁴⁶ Likewise, those composing the Acts of Philip in the fourth and/or fifth centuries may have been familiar with both the Acts of the Apostles and the Acts of John.⁴⁷

Basing Linguistic Analysis on Single Manuscript Traditions

For each narrative, analysis is based on a single manuscript tradition rather than on an eclectic or reconstructed text. Further details are provided in the coming chapters, but

⁴⁶ Cf. Pieter J.ALLEMAN, *The Acts of John: A Two-Stage Initiation into Johannine Gnosticism* (Louvain: Peeters, 1998), 74–98; Eric JUNOD and Jean-Daniel KAESTLI, *Acta Iohannis* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983), 427.

⁴⁷ Frédéric AMSLER, *Acta Philippi: Commentarius* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 434–37.

let me briefly explain that decision here. When I first set about analyzing the Acts of the Apostles, I organized my discussion around a standard critical edition of the New Testament, the Nestle-Aland 27th edition. Although I discussed textual variants, I focused primarily on describing sociolinguistic patterns associated with the “earliest reconstructable” version of the text. When I examined the Acts of John and the Acts of Philip, however, and as I reflected on linguistic patterns in the narratives, I found fundamental problems with this approach.

First, an “eclectic” approach is only applicable to a limited range of texts and linguistic variables. For most ancient texts, we have only a few manuscripts, and these manuscripts may vary greatly in their readings. In these cases, we are constrained by default to basing linguistic analysis on single manuscript traditions. Furthermore, even for well-attested texts such as the Acts of the Apostles, we must generally choose one particular tradition to analyze—or have it chosen for us. It should be recalled that reconstructed texts of Acts such as that in the Nestle-Aland are already based on one particular tradition, generally to the exclusion of the tradition represented in manuscripts such as Codex Bezae.

Using a reconstructed text may also limit the linguistic variables that can be analyzed. The expressions examined in this thesis—forms of address and references to Jesus and the apostles’ god—are similar in the tradition I have analyzed and the Nestle-Aland text. If other linguistic variables had been chosen, however, this may not have been the case. Jenny Read-Heimerdinger argues that article use, word order, and the spelling of “Jerusalem” have discourse significance in the Bezan text of Acts.⁴⁸ Can we really claim that we have reconstructed the “original” text of the Acts of the Apostles to that minute degree?

Unless we can reconstruct “originals” with absolute certainty, the strategy of asking sociolinguistic questions of reconstructed texts is also fundamentally flawed because of the nature of language itself. When we use an eclectic text to address sociolinguistic questions, we are essentially comparing words drawn from a variety of manuscripts of

⁴⁸ Read-Heimerdinger also advocates working from single manuscripts rather than eclectic texts. See Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 254.

different dates and provenances. Such a strategy assumes that every individual whose words are reflected in the various manuscripts used language in the exact same way. Yet this is a dangerous assumption to make given how language changes over time, and how the cultural background, geographic origin, and life experiences of individuals affect the way they speak. A sociolinguistic study of a modern reconstructed text may yield interesting insights into the linguistic sensibilities of modern scholars, but it will not necessarily help us appreciate the nuances of how ancient writers used words.

Based on these considerations, linguistic analysis in this thesis is based on single manuscript traditions. This working strategy can be applied to a broad range of texts and linguistic features, and arguably gives us the best access we can attain to how an individual ancient writer used words.⁴⁹

Basing Sociolinguistic Claims on Evidence

As coming chapters will demonstrate, the importance of using single manuscript traditions when asking sociolinguistic questions is confirmed by the results of the study as a whole, and is a finding akin to one of the main methodological conclusions of the thesis, that sociolinguistic claims for ancient texts should always be based on evidence. My hope in writing this thesis is to encourage more analyses of ancient texts to be informed by sociolinguistic insights, a goal I will try to further both by arguing that the results of the thesis call for consideration of contextual factors whenever the significance of expressions is discussed, and by providing illustrations of how sociolinguistic relationships further the interpretive endeavor in other ways, shedding light on social dynamics and compositional processes, contributing to characterization and the development of literary themes, and informing the question of the implied and intended

⁴⁹ These may not be the words of the “original” authors. We may comfort ourselves, however, that even if we had “original” manuscripts, the words they contained would hardly be, properly speaking, the authors’ own. They would be a creative permutation of their mothers’ words, their brothers’ words, and the words of gentlemen who lived down the street. As Bakhtin comments, “Within the arena of almost every utterance an intense interaction and struggle between one’s own and another’s word is being waged... The utterance so conceived is a considerably more complex and dynamic organism than it appears when construed simply as a thing that articulates the intention of the person uttering it, which is to see the utterance as a direct, single-voiced vehicle for expression” (Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, 354–55).

audience. It is not the intention of the project to encourage haphazard attribution of social significance to words and expressions encountered in ancient texts, however, and the results of the study confirm that it is essential to verify sociolinguistic “hunches” before drawing any literary or theological conclusions from them.

The comments of Ronald Carter are apt in this regard:

I want to argue here for three main points of principle and practice: (1) that the greater our detailed knowledge of the workings of the language system, the greater our capacity for insightful awareness of the effects produced by literary texts; (2) that a principled analysis of language can be used to make our commentary on the effects produced in a literary work less impressionistic and subjective; (3) that because it will be rooted in systematic awareness of language, bits of language will not be merely ‘spotted’ and evidence gathered in an essentially casual and haphazard manner. Statements will be made with recognition of the fact that analysis of one linguistic pattern requires reference to, or checking against, related patterns across the text. Evidence for the statements will thus be provided in an overt or principled way. The conclusions can be attested and retrieved by another analyst working on the same data with the same method. There is also less danger that we may overlook textual features crucial to the significance of the work.⁵⁰

While conducting this study, I have become increasingly convinced that Carter’s call for “principled analysis of language” should be heeded whenever the significance of expressions in ancient texts is discussed, and that modern “intuitions” are likely to miss the mark at times, especially when dealing with expressions in foreign languages from settings culturally, geographically, and chronologically distant from one’s own. Rather than being able to predict all sociolinguistic relationships accurately at the outset of the project, I have continually revised my linguistic hypotheses after discovering that they were not supported by detailed analysis, and the existence of sociolinguistic differences between the three narratives, to be described in chapter 5, likewise indicates that before one can use a putative relationship between speech patterns and social context to make literary or theological claims, one should first confirm that such a relationship actually exists, substantiating that ways of speaking actually co-vary with particular elements of

⁵⁰ Ronald Carter, ed., *Language and Literature: An Introductory Reader in Stylistics* (London: Routledge, 1991), 5–6.

social context as hypothesized.⁵¹ Ideally, this involves providing comparative data based on cataloguing and analyzing every instance of linguistic variables in the texts under consideration, and carefully describing the social contexts in which they are used. The current study seeks to set an example of good practice in this regard by devoting the bulk of each chapter to establishing the contours of sociolinguistic relationships in the narratives, investigating whether specific linguistic variables co-vary with particular aspects of speaker and addressee identity.⁵²

Linguistic and Social Variables Examined

Although it will not be possible within the confines of this thesis to analyze how all speech patterns in the narratives relate to all social variables, examining a selection of factors will establish the main conceptual conclusions of the thesis, and well as illustrating other benefits of this type of analysis for understanding ancient texts.

Linguistic Variables

The primary linguistic variables examined in this thesis are substantive references to Jesus and the apostles' god, and plural forms of address.⁵³ Enough of these appear in the narratives, in a sufficient variety of forms, to make them attractive variables to analyze. Full lists of occurrences are provided in the Appendices. These lists were compiled by

⁵¹ Keeping in mind that despite patterns, "in our actual behaviour we are liable to be somewhat unpredictable" (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, *Acts of Identity*, 13). The inadequacy of "intuition" as a means of determining how speech patterns relate to social context was also brought home to me recently in another context. In the Edinburgh University Islamic Society, members frequently refer to one another as "brother" and "sister." The president might say, for instance, "Sister Khadijah would like to make an announcement." At first, I assumed that Muslim members of ISoc would only use the terms "brother" and "sister" for other Muslims. My (quite plausible) intuition was that "Sister Khadijah" implied "Khadijah is a Muslim." I had to reject my intuitions and revise my hypothesis when the president one day referred to me as "Sister Julia," however. Whatever he means by "sister," it is apparently not what I had intuited.

⁵² When I use the terms "co-vary" and "correlate," I am not making any claims about statistical significance nor asserting causal relationships. These terms simply indicate that there is some connection between the speech pattern being discussed and a particular feature of the social context.

⁵³ I use the term "variable" in a broad sense. I am not suggesting that all the alternatives have the same meaning. Cf. Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation*, 16–17; he defines "linguistic variable" as "a choice or option about speaking in a speech community."

hand, and the completeness of the results was verified wherever possible using electronic search engines.

In defining the limits of the study, I have tried to consider each linguistic variable as comprehensively as possible without unduly lengthening the final account of the data. In the interests of being comprehensive, I have catalogued all substantive references to Jesus and the apostles' god rather than limiting my survey to particular terms or titles. This provided a much fuller understanding of speech patterns in the narratives than would have been achieved through a more limited survey. It drew attention to the fact that characters refer to Jesus and/or the apostles' god with different frequencies in different social contexts, and it highlighted the use of expressions that do not involve the terms or titles typically examined by researchers. It also drew attention to the fact that the same terms may be used in quite different ways. Although the name of Jesus appears both in the phrase "our lord Jesus" (Acts 20:21) and "Jesus Christ of Nazareth whom you crucified" (Acts 4:10) in the Acts of the Apostles, for instance, these phrases do not have the same social significance.⁵⁴

While trying to examine references to Jesus and the apostles' god as comprehensively as possible, I had to put some limits on the data in order to keep the final thesis to a reasonable length. I have not catalogued use of the pronoun αὐτός, nor of the reflexive pronoun ἐαυτός,⁵⁵ and most predicative references to these characters have also been set aside. The latter would need to be analyzed separately from substantive references in any case, since the same expression can have quite a different social significance in predicative and substantive usage. The social contexts in which a speaker would use the term "lord" predicatively, stating, "Jesus is lord," may differ from the contexts in which he or she would use the term substantively, commenting, "The Lord appeared to me." Scriptural citations have also been excluded, and prayer language is discussed only briefly. Again, references to Jesus and the apostles' god in the latter types of speech would need to be analyzed separately from references in inter-human dialogue.

⁵⁴ On the need to consider each instance of a linguistic variable in its context, cf. Brown and Levinson, "Social Structure," 333.

⁵⁵ I have recorded instances of the demonstrative pronouns οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος, however.

A desire for a comprehensive, yet workable data set also informed limits set for other linguistic variables. I have analyzed substantive references to Philip in the Acts of Philip, but have not systematically assessed predicative language used about him, nor usage of the pronoun αὐτός. For forms of address, both vocatives and nominative or accusative phrases that function vocatively have been included, but third-person references to the same individuals and groups are generally not discussed, although I did look at these in the course of research. It is worth noting on this topic that expressions may not have the same social significance as forms of address that they have referentially. Coupland writes:

Forms of address and *forms of reference* (how we refer to non-present others) are selected from similar repertoires, but different norms and conventions can apply in each mode. How we address someone and how we refer to him or her out of their hearing are of course subject to very different design characteristics and considerations.⁵⁶

In other words, we cannot conflate distributional data from referential and address uses of the same terms, nor should we assume that referential and address meanings of expressions necessarily coincide.⁵⁷

In the future, it will be interesting to consider other linguistic features of the narratives, but for the moment, the chosen variables, within the set limits, suffice as a first illustration of how speech patterns relate to social context.

Social Variables

As social variables, the thesis focuses on the Christian status of speakers and addressees, and on their gentile-Jewish identity. I have tried, as far as possible, to take an

⁵⁶ Coupland, *Style*, 55. Italics original.

⁵⁷ Much research has been conducted on forms of address in modern languages. Friederike Braun provides a clear introduction to the key terms, concepts, and questions in Friederike Braun, *Terms of Address: Problems of Patterns and Usage in Various Languages and Cultures* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988), 7–42. Eleanor Dickey also provides a helpful introductory chapter in Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address*. Readers of ancient Greek will be interested in the latter monograph and in her study of forms of address in Roman era papyri, Dickey, “Greek Address System.” On the relationship between forms of address and forms of reference, see Eleanor Dickey, “Forms of Address and Terms of Reference,” *Journal of Linguistics* 33 (1997): 255–74. On the “meaning” of forms of address, see Braun, *Terms of Address*, 253–65; Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address*, 9–12. Braun writes, “There is no necessary correlation of social and lexical component, even less may social meaning be equated with the lexical one” (Braun, *Terms of Address*, 261).

“ethnographic” approach to these dimensions of identity. I had originally thought that categorizing characters as “Christians” and “non-Christians” would be relatively straightforward, and that findings could be summarized in simple charts with columns for “Christian” and “non-Christian” speakers and “Christian” and “non-Christian” addressees.⁵⁸ I later realized that this would be ill-advised, because the narratives were not working with the discrete “Christian” and “non-Christian” categories I had in mind. For instance, the Acts of John contains several protracted conversion narratives; at what point exactly did converting characters become “Christians” rather than “non-Christians”? At the end of the Acts of Philip, meanwhile, “baptized” characters are distinguished from others who have made a profession of faith but have not yet been baptized, and it would have been misleading to lump these characters into a single “Christian” category. I therefore abandoned my predetermined boxes and opted instead for an “ethnographic” approach. I have tried to see what social distinctions, if any, are made in the texts themselves, observing how these distinctions are made, and by whom.⁵⁹

I have discovered that some concept of “Christian” identity is relevant in all three narratives, as I had originally hypothesized. The narratives continually foreground religious themes, and include evangelistic speeches, conversions, sermons, prayers, and miracles. They are not merely history books or novels whose main characters happen to be followers of Jesus; the Christian identity of the apostles is an inherent part of why they have been chosen as protagonists. Yet being “Christian” does not mean the same thing in all three narratives. In parts of the Acts of Philip, married individuals must forgo conjugal relations in order to be “saved,” a stricture nowhere mentioned in the Acts of

⁵⁸ They would have had rows for “Jesus,” “lord,” etc. It makes no sense, however, to stuff all instances of “Jesus” into a single box, as if the expressions “the lord Jesus” and “Jesus whom you crucified” have the same social significance.

⁵⁹ This is a style of research adapted by many contemporary variationist sociolinguists. E.g., Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*; Suzanne Evans Wagner, “Real-time Evidence for Age Grad(ing) in Late Adolescence,” *Language Variation and Change* 24 (2012): 179–202. Cf. Schilling-Estes, “Investigating,” 389–90; Howard Giles, “Couplandia and Beyond,” in *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*, ed. Penelope Eckert and John R. Rickford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 211–14. On the dangers of “categorization” in variationist sociolinguistics research, see Coupland, *Style*, 76. For an example of an ethnographic approach to Biblical Studies, see Louise Joy Lawrence, *An Ethnography of the Gospel of Matthew: A Critical Assessment of the Use of the Honour and Shame Model in New Testament Studies* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

the Apostles. Furthermore, the narratives do not all conceive of “Christians” as a discrete and homogenous category. As mentioned above, “baptized” and unbaptized characters are distinguished in part of the Acts of Philip, and there are extended conversions in the Acts of John.

“Ethnographic” observations such as these are summarized at the beginning of each chapter under the heading “Dynamics of Christian Identity.” These sections address questions such as:

- What traits or actions are associated with particular identities or social groups in the narratives?
- Do any traits or actions indicate Christian status without being required for all converts?
- Does the narrator associate the same traits with Christian status as do characters within the narrative?
- Do different characters define social categories in different ways?

As will become clear, this ethnographic approach was essential for understanding the relationship between speech patterns and social context in the narratives.

Before leaving this topic, let me remark that although I use the term “Christian” throughout this thesis, it rarely appears in the narratives themselves. Characters never refer to themselves as “Christians,” and only rarely label others that way. Nevertheless, it is a convenient umbrella term to refer collectively to the “apostles” and to others who share their beliefs and practices. The term “Christian” also has the merit of being relatively content-neutral: unlike “believer,” it does not presuppose that certain traits are indicative of Christian status. Furthermore, using the term “Christian” allows for the possibility that the boundaries of Christian identity in the narratives may not coincide with the distribution of emic terms such as “brother” or “disciple.” Readers must be careful not to read their own ideas of “Christian” identity into my use of the term,

however. The views expressed in the narratives do not neatly align with contemporary understandings of what being “Christian” entails.⁶⁰

Regarding the gentile-Jewish question, I have again tried to take my cues from the narratives themselves as to how these categories are constructed, and as to whether they are always “salient.”⁶¹ No distinctions are made along these lines in the Acts of John, and only in certain sections of the Acts of Philip. Even in the Acts of the Apostles, several characters cannot be easily slotted into either category. Further details are given in relevant chapters below.

Finally, let me acknowledge that, like any ethnographic activity, assigning social labels to characters in a narrative is an inherently subjective process, and although I have done my best to situate characters within the narratives’ own social frameworks, my conclusions in this regard are therefore open to revision should further analysis indicate.

Benefits for Close Reading

The next three chapters are devoted to exploring the relationship between speech patterns and social context in three particular narratives. In addition to leading to the study’s overall conclusions that social factors including addressee identity should be taken into account whenever the significance of expressions in ancient texts is discussed, and that sociolinguistic claims should be based on appropriate evidence, these chapters offer also illustrations of other ways in which a sociolinguistic perspective can enhance understanding of ancient texts. Most illustrations are of the following varieties:

⁶⁰ Those ancient Christians who labeled the Acts of John heretical would no doubt object to my use of the term “Christian” to describe its contents!

⁶¹ Coupland observes that the identity characteristics that are most salient and most likely to influence speech patterns in a given interaction can vary: “Identity projections can be targeted at people’s identities as individuals, or at their identities as members of social groups... At the same time, our personal identities are in many respects collages of different social category characteristics, complete or fragmentary” (Coupland, *Style*, 112). Cf. Brown and Levinson, “Social Structure,” 316. On the multiple nature of personal identities, cf. Harland, *Dynamics*, 8–9, 145.

Social Dynamics

First, the thesis will demonstrate how relationships between speech patterns and social context shed light on social dynamics. In several narratives, it will be shown that speech patterns of Christian speakers co-vary with the Christian status of their addressees, pointing to social differentiation along religious lines. Other social dynamics explored will include the existence of a secondary Christian-Jewish insider space in the Acts of the Apostles, and a distinction between “baptized” and merely believing characters at the end of the Acts of Philip.

Themes and Theological Viewpoints

It will also be argued that sociolinguistic analysis highlights themes and theological viewpoints. It will be demonstrated that linguistic differentiation between “believing” and “baptized” characters at the end of the Acts of Philip points to the importance of baptism in that tradition, and that speech patterns in the Acts of John contribute to a portrayal of conversion as a process. As we will see, John does not immediately shift to “insider” ways of speaking when his addressees decide to convert.

Characterization

The thesis will then illustrate how sociolinguistic relationships contribute to characterization. In the Acts of John, John seems to “accommodate” his language when speaking to non-Christian addressees, which contributes to a portrayal of him as taking his evangelistic mission seriously. In the Acts of the Apostles, patterns of sociolinguistic variation also contribute to the characterization of Cornelius: although the latter’s gentile identity is repeatedly emphasized, speech patterns suggest that he should be read differently than other gentiles.

Implied and Intended Audience

The thesis will also demonstrate how paying attention to social context can clarify possibilities as to a text’s implied and/or intended audience.⁶² In this thesis, the question of implied audience—the audience addressed by the narrator—will be approached by comparing how the narrator speaks with how characters speak in different social

⁶² The terminology “implied audience” rather than “implied readers” is adopted here to reflect the fact that ancient texts were often read aloud, following Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 33.

contexts, and it will be argued that this can help to pinpoint the social location of the narrator's "addressees."

It will also be suggested in two cases that sociolinguistic analysis helps to clarify possibilities as to intended audience, that is, the actual audience for whom an author or redactor wrote. This is not to suggest that the implied and intended audience of a work are necessarily the same, of course. An ancient author could, for instance, have written a text that sounds as if it is addressed to Christians, but was actually designed for a non-Christian audience with the idea of letting readers "eavesdrop" on ostensibly inter-Christian dialogue as a subtle way of influencing them. Such a text could also have been produced by an author who had spent too little time around non-Christians or had too little metalinguistic awareness to write in a truly accommodating style. If, however, a text with a Christian implied audience shows no signs either of limited sociolinguistic competence or of being designed with "evangelistic eavesdropping" in mind, there may be reason to suppose that it was also written for a Christian intended audience. In this thesis, I will argue that this is the case for the Acts of the Apostles and the Acts of John, each of which shows some degree of metalinguistic awareness—characters speak in different ways with different audiences—and each of which portrays linguistic accommodation as part of the apostles' evangelistic strategy.⁶³

"Why" Questions: Insights from Communication Accommodation Theory

Although this thesis will not spend much time discussing why particular ways of speaking appear in particular social contexts, temporarily setting aside such "why" questions in order to focus on establishing the contextual parameters of language use, the sociolinguistic patterns observed do provide a foundation for a more content-oriented discussion of speech patterns in the narratives, and remarks will occasionally be made to that end.

⁶³ Accommodation is more evident in some parts of the Acts of Philip than in others. Note that suggesting an intended audience on these grounds would be more difficult in a text without dialogue. The "acts of identity" approach to linguistic behaviour suggests that an author's choice of words may sometimes tell us more about his or her ongoing process of self-identification than about the external audience. See above, p. 11.

A particular area of contemporary research that may be valuable in thinking about the “why” questions is Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT).⁶⁴ Howard Giles and Tania Ogay have recently summarized the approach as follows:

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) provides a wide-ranging framework aimed at predicting and explaining many of the adjustments individuals make to create, maintain, or decrease social distance in an interaction. It explores the different ways in which we accommodate our communication, our motivations for doing so, and the consequences.⁶⁵

According to CAT, one strategy by which individuals manage social distance is “convergence.” Individuals “converge” toward the speech style of their interlocutor by reducing dissimilarities in how they speak. In other words, when people interact, they sometimes shift their vocabulary to more closely match that of their interlocutor, and they may also adjust their speech rate, accent, eye contact, body posture, or gestures.⁶⁶ Sometimes these adjustments may be conscious, but individuals are often not aware that they have adjusted their communicative style, or to what degree.⁶⁷

“Convergence” is not the only way that individuals have been observed to “accommodate” to the communicative style of their interlocutors. Research finds that in some cases, they “diverge” instead, shifting their speech style away from that of their interacting partners, and that speakers can converge toward their interlocutors in certain dimensions while diverging in others.⁶⁸ Speakers may converge in vocabulary, for

⁶⁴ For an introduction to CAT, see Howard Giles and Tania Ogay, “Communication Accommodation Theory,” in *Explaining Communication: Contemporary Theories And Exemplars*, ed. Bryan B. Whaley and Wendy Samter (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2007), 325–44; Carolyn A. Shepard, Howard Giles, and Beth A. Le Poire, “Communication Accommodation Theory,” in *The New Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*, ed. W. P. Robinson and Howard Giles (Chichester/New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2001), 33–56; Howard Giles, Nikolas Coupland, and Justine Coupland, “Accommodation Theory: Communication, Context, and Consequence,” in *Contexts of Accommodation: Developments in Applied Sociolinguistics*, ed. Howard Giles, Justine Coupland, and Nikolas Coupland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1–68.

⁶⁵ Giles and Ogay, “Communication Accommodation Theory,” 325.

⁶⁶ Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, “Accommodation Theory,” 7–8; Bourhis, “Language,” 128.

⁶⁷ Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, “Accommodation Theory,” 24–25.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 11–12.

instance, while simultaneously exaggerating differences in accent.⁶⁹ Speakers can also switch between accommodation strategies, diverging at the beginning of a conversation and converging at the end.⁷⁰

Regarding motivating factors, influences on accommodative behavior may include interpersonal factors as well as ethnicity, gender, or other group memberships.⁷¹ Specific motivations for accommodation no doubt vary widely, but a few common factors have been suggested. Thus Coupland observes:

Speech convergence or the ‘reduction of linguistic dissimilarities’ between speakers has very regularly been shown to reflect the goals of ‘promoting social approval’ and ‘promoting communication efficiency.’ ‘Divergence’ has been shown to relate to the goal of ‘promoting intergroup distinctiveness.’⁷²

According to theorists, linguistic convergence may “promote social approval” because people often seem to like and respect those who are similar to them.⁷³ It may enhance communicative “efficiency” because similarity in speech patterns can increase understanding of what is being communicated.⁷⁴ Divergence, on the other hand, may allow a speaker to highlight aspects of his or her identity not shared with the interlocutor, such as gender, ethnicity, or group membership.⁷⁵ This could indicate intergroup or interpersonal tension, but not necessarily. Speaking a few words in one’s native tongue, for instance, can remind interlocutors of one’s limited fluency in another

⁶⁹ Cf. Howard Giles, Klaus R. Scherer, and Donald M. Taylor, “Speech Markers in Social Interaction,” in *Social Markers in Speech*, ed. Klaus R. Scherer and Howard Giles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 370.

⁷⁰ Bourhis, “Language,” 128; cf. Schilling-Estes, “Constructing.”

⁷¹ Giles and Ogay, “Communication Accommodation Theory,” 325–26. Researchers note that it is not always easy to determine the extent to which intergroup rather than interpersonal factors are in play. See Donald M. Taylor and Howard Giles, “At the Crossroads of Research into Language and Ethnic Relations,” in *Language and Ethnic Relations*, ed. Howard Giles and Bernard Saint-Jacques (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1979), 234.

⁷² Nikolas Coupland, “Language, Situation, and the Relational Self: Theorizing Dialect-style in Sociolinguistics,” in *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*, ed. Penelope Eckert and John R. Rickford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 201. Cf. Giles and Ogay, “Communication Accommodation Theory,” 328.

⁷³ Cf. Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, “Accommodation Theory,” 18–19. Convergence is not always received positively, however. See *ibid.*, 22–23; Giles and Ogay, “Communication Accommodation Theory,” 329.

⁷⁴ Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, “Accommodation Theory,” 39–45.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 27–32.

language. In that sort of situation, “Speech divergence is less than an emotional statement of defiance but more a means of facilitating the process of social categorization.”⁷⁶

I am introducing CAT here because of certain linguistic dynamics in the narratives. As we will see, the speech patterns of Christian characters when addressing non-Christians often resemble how those non-Christians themselves speak. Should this be understood as “convergence”? Perhaps. It is worth asking, at any rate, whether the apostles are being depicted as promoting “social approval” and/or “communicative efficiency” by the way they speak.⁷⁷

It is also interesting to observe which characters “converge” in the narratives and to what degree. Based on the linguistic variables studied in this thesis, the apostles generally show the most variety in their speech. Of course, they also speak the most, so this may not be significant. If further analysis confirmed the pattern, however, it would be interesting to consider what it might tell us about narrative technique. By having the apostles converge linguistically more than other characters, these traditions could be depicting them as particularly flexible, other-oriented individuals. Alternatively, the degree of convergence could simply distinguish between supporting characters, represented in relatively “flat” ways, and protagonists.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Taylor and Giles, “At the Crossroads,” 236. Other motivations can also prompt divergence. Youssef suggests that the children in her study sometimes used Creole forms to express intimacy. This involved diverging from the speech of their addressee (Youssef, “Children’s Linguistic Choices,” 266, 272).

⁷⁷ Bell suggests, “If a linguistic feature or pattern is used differently by speakers of different gender or ethnicity, then it will usually be used differently *to* those people as listeners” (Bell, “Back in Style,” 145–46, italics original; cf. Bell, “Language Style,” 167). It will be more challenging to determine whether their accommodative behaviour—if that is what it is—should be read as an acknowledgement that they are newcomers in the cities that they visit, or as a sign that they are privileged persons who condescend to explain their message in terms locals can understand.

⁷⁸ Modern studies have observed that sometimes both interlocutors converge toward the other (Coupland, *Style*, 77), and sometimes one party converges more. Giles and Ogay note that the degree of accommodation may be affected by factors such as the relative status of the two individuals, societal norms for interaction between salient social groups, existing relationships and histories of interaction between those groups, socioeconomic differentials, or an individual’s social knowledge and ability to vary his or her speech (Giles and Ogay, “Communication

Finally, one would like to think more about “diachronic convergence.” In the Acts of John and Acts of Philip, there are characters—converts to the apostles’ faith—who gradually begin to sound more like the apostles over the course of the narrative. How should that “diachronic speech convergence” be interpreted? As Kiesling notes, there may be a difference between short-term accommodation “in conversations, when speakers tend to speak more like the person they are speaking to” and accommodation that occurs “over longer stretches of time” as “people make more enduring adjustments to speak in ways similar to other people whom they regard as close friends, otherwise known as their *social networks*.”⁷⁹ It would be interesting to think more about what patterns of diachronic convergence may indicate about the motivations or competences being attributed to these characters.⁸⁰

Orthographic Conventions in This Thesis

Two orthographic conventions in this thesis deserve mention here. First, readers will observe that the term “god” in the phrases “the Christians’ god,” “John’s god,” and “Philip’s god” are written with a small *g*. Although readers from the field of Biblical Studies may find this unconventional, I feel it is the clearest way to denote that character, both in our modern pluralistic context, and in the context of the three narratives, each of which mentions multiple divinities.

In translations of the Greek, the English words “god” and “lord” are left uncapitalized when the corresponding Greek terms are modified by adjectives or relative clauses, and are capitalized when the Greek terms appear without modifiers. These conventions are

Accommodation Theory,” 329–37). Cf. Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, “Accommodation Theory,” 20–21.

⁷⁹ Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation*, 64. Italics original.

⁸⁰ Le Page and Tabouret-Keller suggest that “the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished” (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, *Acts of Identity*, 181; cf. Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation*, 93). On language use in social networks, and the concept of “insiders,” see Chambers, *Sociolinguistic Theory*, 74–114; Kiesling, *Linguistic Variation*, 64–70; Brown and Levinson, “Social Structure,” 313–21. On a “community of practice” view of insider discourse, see, e.g., Mary Bucholtz, “‘Why Be Normal?’: Language and Identity Practices in a Community of Nerd Girls,” *Language in Society* 28 (1999): 203–23.

designed to reflect, to an extent, the differing degrees of specificity associated with modified and unmodified use of the terms in the narratives.

Outline of the Thesis

With this background in mind, the thesis will now examine the relationship between speech patterns and social context in three ancient texts. **Chapter 2** will demonstrate that Christian speakers in the **Acts of the Apostles** refer to Jesus and the apostles' god in ways that co-vary with both the Christian status and the gentile-Jewish identity of their addressees. Among other particular results, it will be argued that linguistic patterns point to a primary Christian and secondary Christian-Jewish insider space, with Christians holding non-Christian gentiles at a greater linguistic distance than non-Christian Jews.

Chapter 3 will show that the apostle John in the **Acts of John** is portrayed as speaking differently to established Christian characters than to either non-Christian characters or those who have recently begun the conversion process. It will be argued that sociolinguistic variation in this narrative contributes to a portrayal of conversion as a process, distinguishing the **Acts of John** from the **Acts of the Apostles** on a literary as well as a theological plane. It will also be argued that the study's sociolinguistic results call into question the common view that the **Acts of John** was written for a non-Christian audience.

Chapter 4 will show how sociolinguistic dynamics shed light on compositional processes in the **Acts of Philip**, confirming that the extant text is a collected narrative and that parts of APh 8ff. have been rearranged. It will be argued furthermore that linguistic patterns contribute to multi-dimensional and graded constructions of Christian identity in some sections, with baptism and/or ascetic practices required for the fullest Christian status. The chapter will also examine the import of two different non-gentile identities featured in the collected narrative, a positive "Hebrew" identity associated with the apostles in the Martyrdom, and a contrasting negative "Jewish" identity in an earlier episode reflected linguistically.

Chapter 5 will summarize the linguistic results of the case studies and discuss their overall significance for interpretation of ancient texts. Based on sociolinguistic similarities between the narratives, it will be argued that social factors including the identity of addressees should be considered whenever the significance of expressions in ancient texts is discussed. Based on sociolinguistic differences, it will be argued that claims regarding the relationship between speech patterns and social context in an ancient text should be based on evidence in the form of comparative speech data or, if no comparative data is available, on either meta-linguistic information or a comprehensive survey of speech patterns across an extensive range of texts. The final chapter will also comment on whether ancient texts provide reliable historical information about actual conversational practices.

We now turn to our first case study, the Acts of the Apostles.

Chapter 2: Speech Patterns and Social Context in the *Acts of the Apostles*

This chapter explores the relationship between speech patterns and social context in the Acts of the Apostles. We will see that Christian characters are depicted as speaking differently amongst themselves than when addressing non-Christian characters, and that Christian speakers distinguish linguistically between non-Christian Jews and non-Christian gentiles. Attention will be drawn especially to ways that Christian characters speak both amongst themselves and when addressing non-Christian Jews, but never when addressing non-Christian gentiles, as depicted by the gray area in Figure 2.1. It will be argued that these speech patterns shed light on a close yet contested relationship between Christian and Jewish identities, and make implausible an “anti-Jewish” reading of the text. The chapter will also show how speech patterns contribute to the characterization of Cornelius with regard to his gentile-Jewish status.

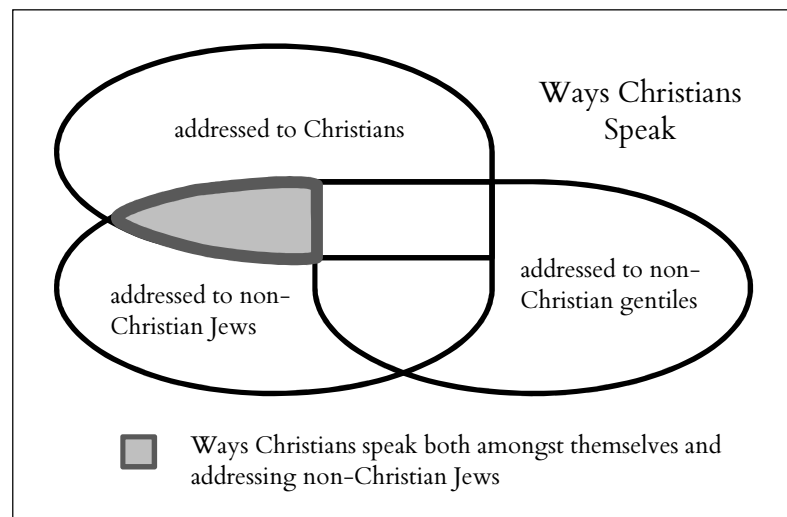


Figure 2.1: A model of sociolinguistic variation in Acts

The Text

As discussed in chapter 1, linguistic analysis in this chapter is based on a single manuscript tradition, that of *Vat. gr.* 1209 (“Vaticanus”). Codex Vaticanus is a fourth-

century manuscript and one of the earliest complete witnesses to the Acts of the Apostles.¹

Earliest Versions of the Acts of the Apostles

Although Codex Vaticanus was written earlier than most other extant manuscripts of Acts, it was nevertheless produced several centuries after the original composition of the narrative. The dating of the earliest versions of Acts has been extensively discussed, and a recent overview of the issues involved can be found in Richard Pervo's *Dating Acts*.² I find Pervo's argument that the author of Acts knew the works of Josephus interesting, but not necessarily conclusive, and although the earliest version of Acts could date to the early second century as Pervo suggests, a date in the first century—perhaps the 80s—seems more probable. The latter date reflects the fact that the gospel of Luke, which I take to be written before the Acts of the Apostles, seems to reflect knowledge of the events of 70 CE (Luke 19:43; 21:20; cf. Mark 13), and leaves open the possibility that the “we” narrator in the latter half of Acts may represent the author's own voice.³

It may also be the case that Codex Vaticanus represents the original author's voice in many regards, because many early manuscripts of the Acts of the Apostles agree to a remarkable extent. Nevertheless, textual variants do exist, some of which affect

¹ For the Vaticanus text, see James Hardy Ropes, ed., *Vol. 3: The Text of Acts* in F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, eds., *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part 1, The Acts of the Apostles* (London: Macmillan, 1926). Manuscript abbreviations in this chapter follow the Gregory-Aland system as in Nestle-Aland editions.

² Richard I. Pervo, *Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and the Apologists* (Santa Rosa: Polebridge Press, 2006). Pervo includes a helpful appendix listing the dates that have been suggested by various commentators.

³ A very young companion of Paul could have been alive and writing at the end of the first century, but average life expectancies would push for an earlier date. For a discussion of the “we” passages in Acts, see, e.g., Jürgen Wehnert, *Die Wir-Passagen der Apostelgeschichte: ein lukanisches Stilmittel aus jüdischer Tradition* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989); Claus-Jürgen Thornton, *Der Zeuge des Zeugen: Lukas als Historiker der Paulusreisen* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1991); Vernon K. Robbins, “By Land and by Sea: The We-Passages and Ancient Sea Voyages,” in *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, ed. Charles H. Talbert (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1978), 215–42; Eckhard Plümacher, “Wirklichkeitserfahrung und Geschichtsschreibung bei Lukas. Erwägungen zu den Wir-Stücken der Apostelgeschichte,” *ZNW* 68 (1977): 2–22; Stanley E. Porter, “The ‘We’ Passages,” in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, ed. David W. J. Gill and Conrad H. Gempf (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 545–74; Susan M. Praeder, “The Problem of First Person Narration in Acts,” *Novum Testamentum* 29 (1987): 269–92.

sociolinguistic relationships, and it is not possible to establish with absolute certainty that the sociolinguistic relationships examined in this chapter reflect a first-century form of the narrative. The conclusions reached in this chapter are therefore only argued to pertain to the fourth-century Vaticanus tradition of Acts (Acts^B).

Basing Linguistic Analysis on a Single Manuscript Tradition

Sociolinguistic differences between manuscripts will be highlighted in an excursus later in the chapter, which will not only contribute to the overall conclusion of the thesis that claims regarding sociolinguistic relationships should be evidence- rather than intuition-based, but will also demonstrate the importance of basing linguistic analysis on single manuscript traditions rather than on an eclectic text. Although the latter methodological point has already been described in chapter 1,⁴ it may seem controversial to some readers, so let me make a few other remarks here. First, it should be reiterated that although linguistic analysis of the Acts of the Apostles as in the Nestle-Aland 27th edition yields the same results as the current study within its confines, one cannot assume that this would be the case for all linguistic variables.⁵ Secondly, it must be kept in mind that the Nestle-Aland edition already privileges certain traditions. The reason that the NA²⁷ and Vaticanus offer similar linguistic results for the current study may be related to the fact that Vaticanus has influenced reconstruction more than traditions such as that of fifth-century Codex Bezae.⁶

Some skeptics may also challenge the decision to base analysis on a single manuscript tradition by asking to what extent the Vaticanus tradition itself represents a consistent voice. If editors of Acts^B have inconsistently revised the narrative, could speech patterns in the narrative reflect the mixed choices of several writers despite being featured in a

⁴ See above, p. 20.

⁵ Cf. Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 254.

⁶ On the Bezan tradition, see Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger, *Message*, 2004; Eldon Jay Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966); Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*. As mentioned in chapter 1, the latter monograph is complementary in many ways to the current chapter. Both discuss how speech patterns in Acts relate to the identities of speakers and/or addressees and include analysis of references to Jesus and God. Read-Heimerdinger's work has somewhat different emphases, however. She focuses on text critical issues and discusses word order, article use, prepositions, connectives, and spellings. She also takes a more content-oriented approach to how context influences speech patterns and does not systematically assess the role of addressees.

single manuscript? An analogous question arises from the possibility that the original author drew on oral or written sources, and some readers may therefore wonder if it is possible to draw meaningful sociolinguistic conclusions for this text at all. This chapter will demonstrate that it is. Since sources and erratic editing are more likely to have diluted than to have strengthened lexical consistency,⁷ if sociolinguistic patterns are recognizable in Acts^B despite possible sources and/or inconsistent editing, they are just as significant as if the whole text had derived from a single author's pen. In fact, the sociolinguistic patterns are more interesting the more sources the tradition has drawn upon, as they indicate either that someone has imposed his or her own style throughout the narrative, or that the sources themselves had consistent linguistic tendencies.⁸ Of course, a modern eclectic text may also present a consistent sociolinguistic witness on the same grounds, but because this thesis is more interested in how ancient writers used words than in the linguistic sensibilities of modern scholars, an ancient "eclectic" text is still preferable.

Structure of the Chapter

The chapter is structured as follows: First, some ethnographic observations will be made regarding dynamics of Christian identity in the narrative. This section will clarify how the chapter categorizes characters as "Christians" and "non-Christians," and will establish that the narrative portrays Christians as a bounded social group, a fundamental assumption of the linguistic analysis to follow. Linguistic variables will then be examined, including third-person references to Jesus and to the Christians' god, and plural forms of address. Attention will be given to how these ways of speaking co-vary with both the Christian status and the gentile-Jewish identity of speakers and addressees.

⁷ See Pauline A. Viviano, "Source Criticism," in *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application*, ed. Stephen R. Haynes and Steven L. McKenzie, rev. ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 37.

⁸ On possible sources of Acts, see, e.g., Charles K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 1: 49–56; 2: xxiv–xxx; Martin Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Heinrich Greeven (London: SCM, 1956), 1–24; Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), 24–34, 81–90; Jacques Dupont, *The Sources of Acts: The Present Position*, trans. Kathleen Pond (London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1964), 8–11, 347–58; Pervo, *Dating*, 8–11, 347–58; Adolf von Harnack, *The Acts of the Apostles* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1909), 162–263.

Finally, at the end of the chapter, illustrations will be offered of how the study enhances understanding of social dynamics in the narrative, and of literary features such as characterization and the nature of the implied audience.

On a side note, readers will observe that no attempt is made in this chapter to differentiate between Jewish and gentile Christians. This is because the particular linguistic variables analyzed do not provide concrete evidence of sociolinguistic variation within the Christian community.⁹ Other lexical items and linguistic features can certainly be analyzed in the future, some of which may provide evidence that such a distinction is being made. For the moment, however, the selected variables suffice to begin a conversation about speech patterns and social context in the narrative, and to illustrate how this type of analysis enhances a close reading of the text.

Dynamics of Christian Identity

Regarding the dynamics of Christian identity in Acts^B, it should be remarked first that a concept of “Christian” identity is relevant throughout. The narrative continually foregrounds religious themes, and includes evangelistic speeches, conversions, exhortations, prayers, and miracles. The narrative also clearly portrays Christians as a social group and not merely as individuals who happen to share traits or interests. Disciples are depicted as gathering, praying, eating, working, and travelling together. They unite in the face of opposition and regulate themselves with councils, leaders, and decrees. In all these ways and more, they are depicted at the narrative level as a social group, and it therefore makes sense to ask sociolinguistic questions along “Christian” lines.

In Acts^B, Christians are also depicted as a social group with “boundaries.”¹⁰ Christian characters, for instance, portray their own social space as internally bounded. The

⁹ For similar reasons, conclusions drawn for “non-Christian Jews” in this chapter may also apply to “proselytes.” “Proselytes”—presumably, gentiles who are full converts to Judaism—are never independently addressed in the narrative, yet are present when Peter speaks on Pentecost (Acts^B 2:11), a speech that contributes data to the current investigation.

¹⁰ The current discussion is not meant to be exhaustive, and readers are referred to relevant commentaries for more on these themes.

apostles mention minimal conditions for Christian identity including repentance (e.g., Acts^B 2:38; 3:19; 17:30; 20:21; 26:20), certain beliefs about Jesus (e.g., Acts^B 10:43; 13:39; 16:31; 19:4), and water baptism in Jesus' name (e.g., Acts^B 2:38), although baptism is sometimes presented as consequent on Christian status rather than as necessary for acquiring it (cf. Acts^B 8:36; 10:47–48; 19:1–7). Another boundary condition affirmed by Christian speakers is a proper attitude toward God and his gifts, as illustrated by the stories of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts^B 5) and Simon of Samaria (Acts^B 8). In a different fashion, Peter treats evidence of the Holy Spirit as a marker of Christian identity in the story of Cornelius (Acts^B 10:44–48), and Barnabas offers Paul's record of "speaking boldly" in Jesus' name as proof of his Christian commitment (Acts^B 9:26–27).¹¹ All of these function from the perspective of Christian characters to mark boundaries of the Christian social group, helping to define who is "in" and who is "out." Although Christian characters do not use the terms "Christian" and "non-Christian," therefore, they acknowledge these categories.¹²

The same distinction is also made at a narrative level. Substantives and conversion reports suggest that from the narrator's perspective, unique aspects of Christian identity include "belief" (e.g., Acts^B 2:44; 4:4, 32; 5:14; 8:12–13; 9:42; 11:21; 14:1–2; 17:34; 18:8) and baptism in Jesus' name (e.g., Acts^B 8:13; 10:48).¹³ Although neither baptism nor belief correlates precisely with salvation at the narrative level—Simon of Samaria both believes and is baptized, for instance, but his status before God is questionable (Acts^B 8)—these features contribute to the narrative's portrayal of Christians as a social group with

¹¹ The narrator reports that some non-Christian Jews also consider bold speaking to indicate that individuals are companions of Jesus (Acts^B 4:13). Identity in Acts, especially the Spirit's role, is discussed at length by Aaron Kuecker, *Spirit and the "Other": Social Identity, Ethnicity and Intergroup Reconciliation in Luke-Acts* (London: T&T Clark International, 2011). Although the Spirit is admittedly an important indicator and shaper of identity in the narrative, Kuecker's narrow focus on the Spirit does not do justice to the complexity of the narrative. Markers of identity and Christian group boundaries are traced more comprehensively by Coleman Baker, who rightly identifies a range of markers. He argues that belief in Jesus as the messiah is the "core identity marker," with baptism and the Holy Spirit the most important associated "boundary crossing rituals." See Coleman A. Baker, *Identity, Memory, and Narrative in Early Christianity: Peter, Paul, and Recategorization in the Book of Acts* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011), 88–89.

¹² On use of the term "Christian" in this thesis, see above, pp. 24–27.

¹³ On "belief," cf. Trebilco, *Self-designations*, 105; and Baker, *Identity*, 97.

boundaries, along lines that coincide more or less precisely with those acknowledged by Christian characters.

Overall, the narrative seems to operate with fairly discrete Christian and non-Christian categories, and determining the Christian status of individual characters for the purpose of sociolinguistic analysis is therefore generally straightforward. Many characters are explicitly labeled “brothers,” “disciples,” or “believers,”¹⁴ and the non-Christian status of other characters is equally clear based on their overt opposition to the apostles’ message and activities. Furthermore, most conversion narratives are succinct: the narrative generally moves characters directly from outside to inside the Christian social group. The relatively clear delineation of Christians and non-Christians in the narrative means that the current chapter will not often discuss the Christian status of particular characters before analyzing their speech patterns, in contrast to the Acts of John and the Acts of Philip where dynamics of Christian identity are more complex. It also means that no further elaboration on Christian identity markers in Acts^B is needed here.

Nevertheless, it may be interesting simply to remark that Christian distinctiveness, although fairly straightforward from the perspective of the narrator and of Christian characters, is somewhat more complex from the perspective of non-Christians. Most importantly, the latter do not always differentiate Christians from other Jews (e.g., Acts^B 16:19–21; 28:17–22). Non-Christians do regularly acknowledge that Christians are “other,” however. Evidence for Christian “otherness” cited by Jewish and gentile non-Christians includes the unique nature of Christian teachings about Jesus, and, in some cases, about resurrection (e.g., Acts^B 17:7, 18; 25:19).¹⁵ Some non-Christian Jews associate Christians with non-observance of Jewish law (e.g., Acts^B 21:27–29), and some

¹⁴ On substantives used to denote Christians in Acts, see Henry J. Cadbury, “Names for Christians and Christianity in Acts,” in *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part 1, The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, vol. 5 (London: Macmillan, 1933), 375–92; Christoph W. Stenschke, *Luke’s Portrait of Gentiles Prior to Their Coming to Faith* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 322–33; and Trebilco, *Self-designations*. Although Trebilco’s suggestions as to the particular connotations and historical backgrounds of the terms are speculative, he provides helpful comprehensive information on when each term is used.

¹⁵ Cf. Baker, *Identity*, 93–94.

non-Christian gentiles object to Christian condemnation of idolatry (e.g., Acts^B 19:23–41).

References to Jesus and the Christians' God

The rest of the chapter will explore how the dynamics of Christian identity discussed above are mirrored and reinforced linguistically, beginning with third-person references to Jesus and to the Christians' god. As we will see, substantive references to these figures made by Christian characters co-vary with both the Christian status and the gentile-Jewish identity of their addressees. There are ways Christians speak only amongst themselves—i.e., “insider language”—and ways they speak only when addressing non-Christian characters. There are also ways Christians speak both amongst themselves and addressing non-Christian Jews, but never when addressing non-Christian gentiles. At the end of the chapter, it will be argued that the latter provide linguistic evidence of a close yet contested relationship between Jewish and Christian identities.

A complete list of third person references to Jesus and the Christians' god in Acts^B is provided in Appendix A. The Appendix also includes references found in Scriptural citations, which are excluded from the present analysis.¹⁶

Modification of θεός, “god”

First to be examined is a way that Christians speak particularly when addressing non-Christian gentiles: references to θεός, “god,” that include modifiers. We will see that

¹⁶ The scholarship on Acts is voluminous. Related to the current topic: Read-Heimerdinger discusses references to “lord” and “god” in the Bezan tradition (*Bezan Text*, 275–310), as well as titles of Jesus (ibid., 254–74), highlighting textual variants. Cadbury's essay on references to Jesus in Acts is also well worth reading, although he does not directly address the questions examined in this chapter. He comments that titles of Jesus in Acts demonstrate the author's “particular sense of the fitness of certain expressions for certain speakers or situations.” See Henry J. Cadbury, “The Titles of Jesus in Acts,” in *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part 1, The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, vol. 5 (London: Macmillan, 1933), 355. For general commentary on the presentation of God in Acts, see Daniel Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian: Writing the “Acts of the Apostles,”* trans. Ken McKinney, Gregory J. Laughery, and Richard Bauckham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 85–108; Robert L. Mowery, “Lord, God, and Father: Theological Language in Luke-Acts,” *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 34 (1995): 82–101; Robert L. Brawley, *Centering on God: Method and Message in Luke-Acts* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1990), 111–24. On characterization of Jesus, see Brawley, *Centering*, 124–38.

Christians more frequently modify the term θεός, “god,” when addressing non-Christian gentiles than when addressing either Christians or non-Christian Jews. It will also be observed that many of the modifiers Christians use when addressing non-Christian gentiles seem designed to clarify the identity of the “god” to whom reference is made, and that Christians most often modify the term only the first time it is used in any given scene, factors that may suggest they are clarifying the identity of their “god” for non-Christian gentile addressees.

Let us now examine the linguistic data in detail.

In Inter-Christian Dialogue

Amongst themselves, Christians almost always use the term θεός, “god” on its own. This is true both the first time the term is used in a given scene (e.g., Acts^B 5:4; 6:2; 14:22; 15:7; 20:21) and in subsequent references (e.g., Acts^B 11:17 [x2], 18; 15:10, 14, 19; 20:24, 27, 28). The only modified reference to “god” in inter-Christian dialogue occurs when Peter mentions ὁ καρδιογνώστης θεός, “the heart-knowing god” to the Jerusalem council (Acts^B 15:8). It is worth noting that he has already referred to “God” in an unmodified form in the same speech (Acts^B 15:7), however, and that the adjective does not suggest that his addressees doubt the identity of the referent.¹⁷

By Christians Addressing Non-Christian Jews

Similarly, Christians only rarely modify θεός, “god” when addressing non-Christian Jews. The first time the term is used in a given scene, it is usually unmodified (e.g., Acts^B 4:10; 5:29; 9:20; 18:21; 22:3; 23:1; 26:6; 28:28), as are most subsequent references (e.g., Acts^B 2:22 [x2], 23, 24, 30, 32, 33, 36; 3:15, 18, 21, 25, 26; 4:19 [x2]; 5:31, 32; 7:6, 7, 9, 17, 20, 25, 35, 42, 45, 46; 23:3; 26:8, 20, 22, 29). In only six instances do Christians modify the term when addressing non-Christian Jews, and three of these occur after the speaker has already referred to “God” in an unmodified form. The latter are as follows:

- Peter and the apostles mention ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, “the god of our fathers” to the Sanhedrin (Acts^B 5:30).

¹⁷ Peter describes the character of “the heart-knowing god” to justify accepting gentiles into the Christian community. Cf. Acts^B 1:24.

- Paul speaks of ὁ θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου Ἰσραήλ, “the god of this people Israel” at the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch (Acts^B 13:17).¹⁸
- Peter refers to κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, “the Lord our god” when addressing Jews and proselytes on Pentecost (Acts^B 2:39).

In three other contexts, Christians modify “god” the first time it appears in a speech addressed to non-Christian Jews.

- At Solomon’s Portico, Peter refers to ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, “the god of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, the god of our fathers” (Acts^B 3:13).
- Stephen mentions ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης, “the god of glory” to the Sanhedrin (Acts^B 7:2).
- In Paul’s first recital of his Damascus road experience, he quotes Ananias as saying, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν προεχειρίσατό σε, “The god of our fathers has preselected you” (Acts^B 22:14).¹⁹

Overall, Christians rarely modify the term “god” when addressing non-Christian Jews. It is also worth noting that none of the modifiers used are necessarily designed to clarify the identity of the referent.

By Christians Addressing Non-Christian Gentiles

This contrasts how Christians speak when addressing non-Christian gentiles. Although Acts^B contains only a modest amount of dialogue between Christians and non-Christian gentiles, it is striking that almost all first references to “god” in that context include modifiers. Furthermore, these modifiers seem to function—at least in part—to clarify the identity of the god to whom Christians refer.

Thus when the priest of Zeus in Lystra is about to offer sacrifice, Barnabas and Paul entreat the people to turn ἐπὶ θεὸν ζῶντα, ὃς ἐποίησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, “to the living god, who made heaven and earth and the sea and everything in them” (Acts^B 14:15). Their modified reference to “the

¹⁸ Regarding Paul’s audience in Acts^B 13, although there may be non-Jews present in the synagogue (see below, pp. 47–48), his reference to the god of “this people Israel” seems primarily influenced by Jewish context, and is therefore relevant to the current discussion of Christian speech patterns with non-Christian Jewish addressees.

¹⁹ Unmodified references to “God” follow in Acts^B 3:15, 18, 21, 25, 26 and 7:6, 7, 9, 17, 20, 25, 35, 42, 45, 46, 56.

living god...” appears to specify that god’s identity in the context of a competing cult. A similar motivation is plausible when Paul contrasts an Athenian inscription ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ, “to an unknown god” with ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, “the god who made the world and everything in it” (Acts^B 17:23–24). Like the earlier reference to “the living god,” this is the first mention of “god” in the scene, and the modifying phrase appears to clarify the identity of the referent.²⁰

Two further examples can be understood similarly. When Paul is accused of trying to profane the Temple as “a leader of the sect of the Nazarenes,” he tells the governor Felix, λατρεύω τῷ πατρῷῳ θεῷ, “I worship [my] ancestral god” (Acts^B 24:5, 14). Here, he emphasizes that he worships the same god as his Jewish accusers.²¹ Later, when caught in a violent wind en route to Italy, Paul reports to the worried sailors that τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗ εἰμι ὅς καὶ λατρεύω, ἄγγελος, “an angel of the god to whom I belong and whom I worship” has appeared to him (Acts^B 27:23). This is followed by an unmodified reference to “God” once Paul has established that the god whose instructions he is asking the sailors to follow is one with whom he himself has a relationship (Acts^B 27:25). Although multiple factors have undoubtedly influenced the speech patterns attributed to Paul in these instances, it seems likely that in each case he is represented as choosing his words at least in part in order to clarify the identity of “god.” Even more important for present purposes is simply the fact that each of these first references to “god” is modified, which itself contrasts how Christians speak both when addressing non-Christian Jews and amongst themselves.

There are two occasions, however, when Christians seem to speak differently to non-Christian gentiles. One is a speech by Paul at the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch, where he addresses his audience as ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, “people of Israel and those who fear God” (Acts^B 13:16; cf. 13:26). Although the precise identity of “those who fear God” is not clear from Paul’s speech, they do not seem to be native-born

²⁰ Paul later refers to “God” in an unmodified form in the Athenian speech (Acts^B 17:27, 29, 30).

²¹ Paul later refers to “God” in an unmodified form in this speech (Acts^B 24:15, 16).

Jews,²² and it is noteworthy, therefore, that Paul's first reference to "god" is unmodified.²³ Peter also makes an unmodified first reference to "god" when addressing Cornelius, a character who is explicitly portrayed as uncircumcised (Acts^B 10:28).²⁴

Regardless of how the latter instances are understood, a correlation exists between Christian modification of the term "god" in Acts^B and the identity of their addressees: most first references to "god" in inter-Christian dialogue, and by Christians addressing non-Christian Jews, are unmodified, while most first references by Christians addressing non-Christian gentiles include modifiers. This correlation exists even if Cornelius and "those who fear God" are understood as "pure" gentiles.²⁵ There is good ground for understanding them differently, however. Not only is there general literary evidence for reading Cornelius and "those who fear God" as "more Jewish" than other gentiles, but linguistic patterns also support such a reading, as will be progressively demonstrated throughout the current chapter.²⁶

²² If "those who fear God" are proselytes, that eliminates the current concern. I think they are more likely non-proselyte gentiles, however, following Pervo, who suggests that similarities in how they are described would cause readers to think of Cornelius (cf. Acts^B 10:2, 22, 35) (Richard I. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary*, ed. Harold W. Attridge [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009], 335). In the end, their exact identity cannot be determined conclusively. Drawing on Acts 13:43, Barrett argues that Paul refers only to full proselytes (Barrett, *Acts*, 1994, 1:630, 639). Peterson suggests that Paul's "Israelites" include proselytes (cf. Acts 2:22), and thus that "those who fear God" are other gentiles (David Peterson, *The Acts of the Apostles* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009], 386 n. 58). Also leaning toward the presence of non-proselyte gentiles in Pisidian Antioch are Darrell L. Bock, *Acts* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 461; Marion L. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts: Their Content, Context, and Concerns* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994), 81; Kirsopp Lake, "Proselytes and God-Fearers," in *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part 1, The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, vol. 5 (London: Macmillan, 1933), 86–87; Graydon F. Snyder, "The God-Fearers in Paul's Speech at Pisidian Antioch," in *Actes du 1er congrès international sur Antioche de Pisidie*, ed. Thomas Drew-Bear, Mehmet Taşlıalan, and Christine M. Thomas (Université Lumière-Lyon, 2002), 45–52; Haenchen, *Acts*, 351.

²³ Most of Paul's subsequent references to "God" are also unmodified (Acts^B 13:21, 23, 26, 30, 33, 36, 37), apart from the reference to "the god of this people Israel" discussed above (Acts^B 13:12; see above, p. 46).

²⁴ Peter's subsequent references to "God" are also unmodified (Acts^B 10:34, 38, 40, 41, 42), as is the angel's first reference in Acts^B 10:4.

²⁵ "Pure" gentile is the terminology of Jervell. See Jacob Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 303.

²⁶ The question of whether "God-fearers" existed as a technical category at the time of Cornelius and/or the author of the narrative is peripheral to the interests of this chapter. The narrative does not obviously exploit this as a technical category. On the question, see, e.g., Martinus C. de Boer, "God-Fearers in Luke-Acts," in *Luke's Literary Achievement: Collected Essays*, ed. C. M.

From a general literary perspective, it is important to recognize that both Cornelius and “those who fear God” display marked Jewish interests. “Those who fear God” are in a synagogue when Paul addresses them, and the narrator describes Cornelius as εὐσεβὴς καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν, “devout and fearing God,” and consistent in prayer and almsgiving (Acts^B 10:2). The latter are probably meant to be seen as Jewish traits.²⁷ Furthermore, although Peter emphasizes that Cornelius is ἀλλόφυλος, “foreign” (Acts^B 10:28), even he assumes that Cornelius is familiar with τὸν λόγον ἀπέστειλεν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, “the message [God] sent to the sons of Israel” (Acts^B 10:36), as well as other Jewish matters.²⁸

As the chapter progresses, we will also see that the fact that Christians make unmodified first references to “God” with these and only these gentile addressees may not be a coincidence. We have already seen that although Christians generally modify “god” when addressing non-Christian gentiles elsewhere in the narrative, they tend not to speak that way when addressing non-Christian Jews. As the chapter progresses, we will also encounter other linguistic features that suggest these groups are depicted

Tuckett (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 50–71; John G. Gager, “Jews, Gentiles, and Synagogues in the Book of Acts,” *Harvard Theological Review* 79 (1986): 91–99; A. Thomas Kraabel, “Greeks, Jews, and Lutherans in the Middle Half of Acts,” *Harvard Theological Review* 79 (1986): 147–57; Lake, “Proselytes and God-Fearers,” 84; Ben Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 341–44.

²⁷ Cf. Luke^B 1:10, 13; 2:37; 5:33; 11:41; 18:10; Acts^B 3:1–3; 16:13, 16; 22:17; 24:17. Jervell remarks that standing to pray and the combination of prayer and almsgiving indicate Jewish practice (Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 303).

²⁸ Based on lack of modifiers, Peter expects Cornelius to be familiar with John the Baptist (Acts^B 10:37), the devil (Acts^B 10:38), and the prophets (Acts^B 10:43). Jervell comments that Peter also presents Jesus entirely in a “Jewish framework” (Jacob Jervell, *Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts* [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972], 57). Much has been written on the Cornelius episode, regarding sources (e.g., François Bovon, “Tradition et rédaction en Actes 10,1–11,18,” *Theologische Zeitschrift* 26 [1970]: 22–45; Ben Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 344–46; Jacob Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 317–19; Dibelius, *Studies*, 109–22); Peter’s speech (e.g., Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, vol. 2 [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990], 137–42); and the episode’s role in Acts (e.g., Jack T. Sanders, *The Jews in Luke-Acts* [London: SCM, 1987], 139; Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:135–36). Kuecker discusses issues of identity and group boundaries in the episode, focusing on the Spirit’s role (Kuecker, *Spirit and the “Other,”* 187–202). Also interesting is Ronald D. Witherup, “Cornelius Over and Over and Over Again: ‘Functional Redundancy’ in the Acts of the Apostles,” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 49 (1993): 45–66. For a general discussion of the passage, see William S. Kurz, “Effects of Variant Narrators in Acts 10–11,” *New Testament Studies* 43 (1997): 570–86.

linguistically as “more Jewish” than other gentiles. One worth mentioning here is the fact that Cornelius’ circle are the only non-Christian gentiles to whom Christians mention the Holy Spirit. This is not because Christians always avoid the topic; they refer to the Holy Spirit both amongst themselves (e.g., Acts^B 1:16; 5:3; 8:19; 10:47; 11:15; 15:8, 28; 20:23, 28; 21:11) and addressing non-Christian Jews (e.g., Acts^B 2:33; 5:32; 7:51; 28:25), and one wonders therefore whether Peter’s reference to πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, “the Holy Spirit” at Cornelius’ house (Acts^B 10:38) relates to the Jewish interests of his addressees.²⁹

Regarding references to “god,” a brief comment is needed finally about an unmodified first reference to “God” made by Paul in Acts^B 26:6. I consider Paul to have a Jewish rather than a gentile addressee in this case. Although the gentile governor Festus is present and even makes the first reply to Paul’s speech (Acts^B 26:24), Paul explicitly addresses his defense to Agrippa (Acts^B 26:2, 7, 19), a Jew. All things considered, it seems best to interpret Paul’s speech in light of his primary addressee, especially in Acts^B 26:6 where he tells Agrippa that he is accused for the hope τῆς εἰς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐπαγγελίας γενομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, “of God’s promise to our fathers.” It is difficult to imagine how “our” in this context could include Festus or other gentiles, and this therefore seems to be simply another instance of an unmodified reference to “God” with a non-Christian Jewish addressee.

Summary

To summarize, whether or not Christians modify first references to “god” correlates with the identity of their addressees: In inter-Christian dialogue, and when Christians address non-Christian Jews, they usually refer to “God” in an unmodified form. When

²⁹ On Cornelius as more than a regular gentile, see also J. Julius Scott, “The Cornelius Incident in the Light of Its Jewish Setting,” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 34 (1991): 478; Stenschke, *Luke’s Portrait*, 148–53. Tannehill comments, “Cornelius is addressed like a Jew by the angel and portrayed like a Jew by the narrator” (*Tannehill, Narrative Unity, 2: The Acts of the Apostles*: 133). Bovon notes that Cornelius is not “tout a fait un païen,” “a complete pagan” (Bovon, “Tradition,” 44). For an excellent discussion of the complex nature of Jewish identity in the Biblical period, see Shaye J. D. Cohen, “Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew,” *Harvard Theological Review* 82 (1989): 13–33. It seems to me that speech patterns in Acts^B 10 affirm the conclusions of those who hesitate to label the Cornelius episode the beginning of the “lawless gentile mission,” e.g., Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 90.

they address non-Christian gentiles, on the other hand, most first references are modified, with exceptions only in two cases where gentiles show marked Jewish interests.³⁰

Although this thesis focusses on establishing parameters of linguistic variation rather than on explaining why certain speech patterns are associated with particular social contexts, the latter question is interesting and relevant to the current inquiry. Based on the particular modifiers Christians use for “god” when addressing non-Christian gentiles and the fact that they most often modify the term only the first time it is used in any given scene, it seems likely that they are being portrayed as clarifying the identity of “god,” which, in the terms of Communication Accommodation Theory, might be seen as a way of “promoting communicative efficiency.” Such a motivation is less apparent when Christians address non-Christian Jews, on the other hand. Most modifiers used in the latter context reflect Jewish tradition, and the speakers may therefore be “promoting social approval” by emphasizing solidarity with their Jewish audiences.³¹ It is also worth remarking that such a strategy could still indicate social distance between Christians and non-Christian Jews, since Christians are not portrayed as making any solidarity-building modified references to “god” amongst themselves. Such a reading would be supported by the fact that a similar distinction appears between shorter references to Jesus addressed to Christians and longer forms addressed to non-Christian Jews, as will be shown below.

³⁰ In Luke^B, modification of “god” is rare. Besides Luke^B 1:68, the only other modified reference to “god” is Gabriel’s mentioning “the Lord God” to Mary (Luke^B 1:32).

³¹ It is possible that some of the modified references to “god” Christians make addressing non-Christian Jews could have a clarifying purpose, e.g., in Acts^B 3, 5, 13. The latter two occur early in the speeches and context provides a potential motivation for Peter and Paul to clarify the identity of “god”: they are about to make controversial claims about Jesus. Yet Zechariah’s blessing of κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, “the Lord, the god of Israel” at Luke^B 1:68 pushes against reading Paul as clarifying in Acts^B 13, and similar phrases appear regularly in the Septuagint. Regarding Acts 7:2, Barrett comments without explanation that Stephen’s reference to “the god of glory” marks him as a Jew (Barrett, *Acts*, 1994, 1:341). Johnson and Parsons note that the phrase is unusual, used in Psa 28:3 LXX, and may resonate with Luke 7:55 (Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* [Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992], 114; Mikeal C. Parsons, *Acts* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 2008], 90). For Bock, it signals “Stephen’s respect for his God and for Israel’s roots” (Bock, *Acts*, 282). See also Peterson, *Acts*, 248, and note Eph 1:17: ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης, “the father of glory.” Ananias’ reference to “the god of our fathers” in Acts^B 22 may relate to that story’s depiction of Paul as a non-Christian Jew; see below, pp. 56–57.

Jesus and the Christians' god as κύριος, "lord"

First, however, it will be demonstrated that references by Christians to Jesus and to their god as κύριος, "lord" also co-vary with the identity of their addressees. This section will first examine references to "the lord Jesus," then to "the Lord" as an independent substantive.³²

"The Lord Jesus (Christ)"

References to "the lord Jesus (Christ)" in Acts^B are limited almost entirely to inter-Christian dialogue. Non-Christian characters never use the phrase, and Christians use it almost exclusively amongst themselves. It appears a number of times in the latter context:

- Peter refers to ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, "the lord Jesus" (Acts^B 1:21), τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, "the lord Jesus" (Acts^B 15:11), and τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, "(our) lord Jesus Christ" (Acts^B 11:17) addressing Christians in Jerusalem.
- Paul mentions τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν, "our lord Jesus" (Acts^B 20:21) and τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, "the lord Jesus" (Acts^B 20:24, 35) to Ephesian elders.
- Paul speaks of τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, "the name of the lord Jesus" to disciples in Caesarea (Acts^B 21:13).
- The Jerusalem council writes to gentile Christians of τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, "the name of our lord Jesus Christ" (Acts^B 15:26).

The only other reference to "the lord Jesus (Christ)" in direct speech is made by Paul and Silas addressing the Philippian jailor. When the jailor asks, κύριοι, τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν ἵνα σωθῶ; "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" (Acts^B 16:30), they answer, πίστευσον ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν, "Believe in the lord Jesus" (Acts^B 16:31). It is striking that the jailor, the only "non-Christian" character to whom Christians mention "the lord Jesus," has

³² On κύριος, "lord" in Acts, see James D. G. Dunn, "KYPIOS in Acts," in *Jesus Christus als die Mitte der Schrift*, ed. Christof Landmesser, Hans-Joachim Eckstein, and Hermann Lichtenberger (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 363–78; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Κύριος," ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider, *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990–1993); Donald L. Jones, "The Title Kyrios in Luke-Acts," *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* (1974): 85–101; C. Kevin Rowe, *Early Narrative Christology: The Lord in the Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009); John Cochrane O'Neill, "Use of Kyrios in the Book of Acts," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 8 (1955): 155–74; Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 278–85; Gerhard Schneider, "Gott und Christus als Kyrios nach der Apostelgeschichte," in *Begegnung mit dem Wort*, ed. Josef Zmijewski and Ernst Nellesen (Bonn: Hanstein, 1979), 161–74. On "lord" in general, see Nigel Turner, *Christian Words* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1980), 257–60.

already inquired about salvation when they make the reference. In some sense, he is already in the process of becoming a Christian. Although we will need to examine references to “the Lord” before drawing firm conclusions, “the lord Jesus (Christ)” thus seems to be Christian insider language, a way that Christians refer to Jesus only amongst themselves (or with those about to join their number).³³

“The Lord”

Usage of the term “lord” as an independent substantive is more complex, and distribution once again reveals a distinction along the lines of gentile-Jewish identity: Christians refer substantively to “the Lord” both amongst themselves and when addressing non-Christian Jews, but never when addressing non-Christian gentiles.

References to “the Lord” in Inter-Christian Dialogue

There are a number of substantive references to “the Lord” in inter-Christian dialogue, some of which are references to Jesus. When Peter tells church leaders in Jerusalem, ἐμνήσθην δὲ τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου ὡς ἔλεγεν, “I remembered the word of the Lord, how he said...” (Acts^B 11:16), the following quote confirms that he is referring to Jesus. “The Lord” may also denote Jesus when Paul describes himself as δουλεύων τῷ κυρίῳ, “serving the Lord,” addressing elders of the Ephesian Christian community (Acts^B 20:19; cf. 20:32). Other references to “the Lord” in inter-Christian dialogue may denote the Christians’ god, such as when Peter remarks to himself that ἐξαπέστειλεν κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ, “the Lord has sent his angel” (Acts^B 12:11), and when the newly-

³³ In contrast to the Vaticanus tradition, Christians sometimes refer to “the lord Jesus (Christ)” when addressing non-Christians in other manuscripts; see below, p. 70. Two references to “the lord Jesus (Christ)” in other manuscripts are addressed to people who, like the Philippian jailor, have already shown interest in becoming Christians. According to manuscripts C D E Ψ 6. 36. 323. 614. 945. 1175. 1739, Paul heals a lame man in Lystra using a formula that refers to “(our) lord Jesus (Christ)” (Acts^B 14:10). Manuscripts P⁷⁴ ⋈ A B M lack such a reference. Although the (gentile) Lystran man is probably not a Christian before meeting Paul, the narrator accords him πίστιν τοῦ σωθῆναι, “faith to be saved” before his healing takes place (Acts^B 14:9). Similarly, a reference by Peter to τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the lord Jesus Christ” on Pentecost that appears in D E 614. 945. 1739. 1891 occurs after his Jewish and proselyte addressees have expressed interest in acting on his proclamation (Acts 2:38).

baptized Lydia urges Paul and his party to stay at her house εἰ κερίκατέ με πιστὴν τῷ κυρίῳ εἶναι, “if you have judged me to be faithful to the Lord” (Acts^B 16:15).³⁴

References to “the Lord” by Christians Addressing Non-Christian Jews

Christians also refer to “the Lord” when addressing non-Christian Jews. Most of these instances denote the Jewish/Christian god, such as when Stephen recalls for the Sanhedrin how “the Lord” spoke to Moses (Acts^B 7:31, 33), and when Peter invites Jews in Jerusalem to repent and turn to God ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσιν καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, “so that times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord, and he may send the messiah appointed for you, Jesus” (Acts^B 3:20). “The Lord” who sends Jesus in the latter instance cannot be Jesus himself. Furthermore, when Paul tells the Jewish false prophet Elymas to stop making crooked τὰς ὁδοὺς κυρίου τὰς εὐθείας, “the straight paths of the Lord” (Acts^B 13:10), and that χεὶρ κυρίου ἐπὶ σε, “the hand of the Lord is against you” (Acts^B 13:11), prophetic echoes of Isaiah 40:3 and Hosea 14:10 suggest that the former “Lord” and therefore also the latter are references to the Jewish/Christian god.³⁵ Paul and Barnabas also refer to the “Lord” who speaks through Scripture when addressing the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch (Acts^B 13:47),³⁶ and Peter on Pentecost refers to “the Lord our god” (Acts^B 2:39).

It is hardly surprising that (Jewish) Christians refer to the Jewish/Christian god as “the Lord” when addressing non-Christian Jews. More striking, especially given the socially limited usage of “the lord Jesus,” is the fact that Christians refer to Jesus as “the Lord” when addressing non-Christian Jews. There may be explanations for the three cases in

³⁴ That the latter refer to the Christians’ god is suggested in part by textual variants. At Acts 12:11, manuscripts including 36. 323. 453. 945. 1739 read “God” rather than “the Lord,” which suggests that some early interpreters considered this to be a reference to the Christians’ god. At Acts 16:15, Codex Bezae reads “God.” Note also variation between “God” and “the Lord” in Acts 20:28, 32, and see below (p. 69) on Acts 10:33.

³⁵ Christians cite Scriptures referring to “the Lord” several times when addressing non-Christian Jews (e.g., Acts^B 2:20, 21; 3:22; 7:49).

³⁶ Read-Heimerdinger’s explanations for interpreting “the Lord” as Jesus in Acts 13:11, 47 are unsatisfying (see Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 284–85), partly because she does not consider the possible sociolinguistic influence of the addressees.

question, however, all of which occur in accounts of the Damascus road.³⁷ The instances are as follows:

- Ananias refers to Jesus as “the Lord” when speaking to Saul after his Damascus road experience (Acts^B 9).
- Paul refers to Jesus as “the Lord” when he recounts his experience to a Jewish crowd (Acts^B 22) and to Agrippa (Acts^B 26).

In the latter instances, the Christian Paul clearly refers to Jesus as “the Lord” when addressing non-Christian Jews. Nevertheless, a plausible case can still be made for considering references to Jesus as “the Lord” to function essentially as insider language in the narrative.³⁸

In Acts^B 9, Ananias says to Saul, Σαοὺλ ἀδελφέ, ὁ κύριος ἀπέσταλκέν με, Ἰησοῦς ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἣ ἦρχου, “Brother Saul, the Lord has sent me, Jesus who appeared to you on the road by which you came” (Acts^B 9:17). In Acts^B 22, Ananias does not mention “the Lord,” but instead tells Saul—Σαοὺλ ἀδελφέ, “brother Saul” (Acts^B 22:13)—that ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, “the god of our fathers” has chosen him to see τὸν δίκαιον, “the righteous one” (Acts^B 22:14). What might explain the different expressions attributed to Ananias? Narrative context suggests that the shift in Ananias’ language is connected with emphasis on different aspects of his and Saul’s identities. Acts^B 9 has a

³⁷ When Peter announces on Pentecost that καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ χριστὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, “God has made [Jesus] both lord and messiah” (Acts^B 2:36), his reference to Jesus as “lord” is predicative, and therefore does not directly inform the current argument.

³⁸ Studies that have analyzed Acts 9, 22, and 26, offering explanations of the differences between them, include Dennis Hamm, “Paul’s Blindness and Its Healing: Clues to Symbolic Intent (Acts 9; 22 and 26),” *Biblica* 71 (1990): 63–72; Charles W. Hedrick, “Paul’s Conversion/Call: A Comparative Analysis of the Three Reports in Acts,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 100 (1981): 415–32; Emanuel Hirsch, “Die drei Berichte der Apostelgeschichte über die Bekehrung des Paulus,” *ZNW* 28 (1929): 305–12; John J. Kilgallen, “Paul Before Agrippa (Acts 26:2–23): Some Considerations,” *Biblica* 69 (1988): 170–95; Sten Lundgren, “Ananias and the Calling of Paul in Acts,” *Studia Theologica* 25 (1971): 117–22; Andrew J. Mattill, “A Spectrum of Opinion on the Value of Acts as a Source for the Reconstruction of the Life and Thought of Paul,” *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* (1974): 76; Marvin W. Meyer, “The Light and Voice on the Damascus Road,” *Forum* 2 (1986): 27–35; Shawn B. Redford, “The Contextualization and Translation of Christianity: Acts 9:1–9; 22:3–33; 26:2–23,” in *Mission in Acts*, ed. Robert L. Gallagher and Paul Hertig (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004), 283–96; Ben Witherington III, “Editing the Good News: Some Synoptic Lessons for the Study of Acts,” in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, ed. Ben Witherington III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 336–43; Ronald D. Witherup, “Functional Redundancy in the Acts of the Apostles: A Case Study,” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 48 (1992): 67–86.

marked Christian tone. The narrator repeatedly refers to Jesus as ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (Acts^B 9:1, 10, 11, 15, 27, 28), and not only calls Ananias τις μαθητής, “a disciple,” but also has him engage in a long conversation with Jesus in which he addresses the latter as κύριε, “Lord” (Acts^B 9:10, 13) and refers to the persecution of Jesus’ “saints” (τοῖς ἁγίοις, Acts^B 9:13). These elements lend a Christian tone to the whole passage.

When Paul tells his own story in Acts^B 22, on the other hand, his Jewish identity has become central. Paul addresses a Jewish crowd in “the Hebrew dialect” (Acts^B 21:40), and he emphasizes Jewish themes: he is a Jew, educated by the Pharisee Gamaliel, zealous for God, a former persecutor of the Way, empowered by the high priest and Jewish elders (Acts^B 22:3–5), and even after the Damascus road is found praying in the Temple (Acts^B 22:17). In Acts^B 22, Paul also emphasizes the Jewish identity of Ananias, a feature entirely ignored in the narrator’s version of Acts^B 9. In Acts^B 22, Ananias is not a “disciple,” but εὐλαβὴς κατὰ τὸν νόμον, μαρτυρούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων, “devout according to the law, well spoken of by all the Jews who lived there” (Acts^B 22:12). Paul’s emphasis on Ananias’ Jewish identity contrasts Acts^B 9, where the latter is portrayed almost exclusively as a Christian.³⁹

Furthermore, Ananias is not the only character portrayed in terms of Christian identity in Acts^B 9: Saul’s emerging Christian identity is a prominent theme in the account. Most importantly for present purposes, before meeting Saul, Ananias talks with Jesus about whether Saul is still a persecutor of the saints or has become an “instrument” of Christ (Acts^B 9:13–16). Only after becoming convinced that Saul is no longer an enemy does Ananias seek him out. After Saul’s healing, the narrator highlights his Christian identity

³⁹ Marguerat suggests, “This remodelling of Ananias’ identity is dictated by the rhetorical purpose of the speech: for Paul to receive his call from a Jewish dissident would not fit the rhetorical situation of his speech” (Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, 197). Noting the Christian vs. Jewish viewpoints of Acts 9 and 22 are, e.g., William S. Kurz, *Reading Luke-Acts: Dynamics of Biblical Narrative* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993), 125–31; Kirsopp Lake, “The Conversion of Paul and the Events Immediately Following It,” in *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part 1, The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, vol. 5 (London: Macmillan, 1933), 191; William R. Long, “The Paulusbild in the Trial of Paul in Acts,” *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 22 (1983): 99–101; David M. Stanley, “Paul’s Conversion in Acts,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 15 (1953): 330; Barrett, *Acts*, 1994, 1:444–45. Pervo comments that “specific Christian terminology and themes are avoided” in Acts 22 (Pervo, *Acts*, 562).

by remarking on the amazement and disbelief of Jews and Christians at his change of heart (Acts^B 9:21, 26). It is also interesting that Ananias does not mention baptism in Acts^B 9, but simply states that Saul will regain his sight and be filled with the Holy Spirit (Acts^B 9:17), whereas in Acts^B 22, Ananias tells Saul, ἀναστὰς βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλυσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, “Get up and be baptized and wash away your sins, calling on his name” (Acts^B 22:16). As discussed at the beginning of the chapter, baptism is a key marker of Christian identity in the narrative, and it is therefore striking that Ananias seems to place greater emphasis on Saul’s need for it in Acts^B 22.⁴⁰ All in all, Saul seems to be depicted in Acts^B 9 primarily as a person of emerging Christian identity, whereas in Acts^B 22 there is more emphasis on his status as a non-Christian Jew.⁴¹

These differing portrayals of Saul may explain why Ananias is quoted as referring to “the Lord, Jesus...” in Acts^B 9 and “the god of our fathers” and “the righteous one” in Acts^B 22. The most satisfactory explanation is that in the former, Ananias addresses Saul primarily as a Christian or Christian-to-be, and in the latter as a non-Christian Jew. Seen in this light, the fact that Ananias refers to Jesus as “the Lord” in Acts^B 9 but not in Acts^B 22 would support a conclusion that “the Lord,” used in reference to Jesus, is essentially insider language of the Christian social group.

To be clear, I am not claiming that the narrative depicts Saul as fully Christian when Ananias addresses him in Acts^B 9. In fact, Ananias’ own words caution against a simplistic understanding of Saul’s Christian status. He does not refer to “the Lord” full stop, but to “the Lord..., Jesus who appeared to you on the road by which you came” (Acts^B 9:17). We will see below that relative clauses such as the latter are common in

⁴⁰ The filling of the Holy Spirit, which Ananias mentions in Acts 9, also functions to mark Christian identity in the narrative, but it is not something that recipients control, and often takes place after baptism, making the latter a clearer boundary marker in this context. I tend to disagree with Kuecker, therefore, who considers the Holy Spirit to be the primary boundary marker in Acts and concludes that Ananias does not treat Saul as Christian kin before his healing. See Kuecker, *Spirit and the “Other,”* 168–79, and 172–73 n. 117.

⁴¹ On the identity theme of Acts 9, see Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, 191–96; and Kuecker, *Spirit and the “Other,”* 168–79. Jesus’ reference to himself as “Jesus of Nazareth” in Acts^B 22 also corresponds with Saul’s identity as a non-Christian Jew; see below, pp. 60–62. Of course, the degree to which such different characterizations were intentional on the author’s part is another question.

dialogue between Christians and non-Christian Jews, but are not typical in inter-Christian dialogue. The fact that Ananias clarifies whom he means by “the Lord” may therefore suggest a liminal aspect to Saul’s identity, that the latter is becoming a Christian, but is not yet fully integrated into the life or language of the community. We will return to this point later on.

It also remains to explain Paul’s references to Jesus as “the Lord” in Acts^B 22 and 26. In these passages, Paul recalls how, struck by a bright light, he asked, τίς εἶ, κύριε; “Who are you, Lord?” (Acts^B 22:8; 26:15), and, in Acts^B 22, τί ποιήσω, κύριε; “What am I to do, Lord?” (Acts^B 22:10), then reports what “the Lord” replied (Acts^B 22:10; 26:15). In both cases, he unambiguously refers to Jesus as ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” when addressing non-Christian Jews. Can one explain these instances? I would suggest that they may derive from the compositional process. Each third-person reference to “the Lord” occurs after at least one vocative “Lord,” and the prior vocative(s) could have given rise to the subsequent indicative form, perhaps by accident.⁴² Alternatively, the Damascus road story may have been so familiar to the author or redactor that he or she simply wrote down the traditional words without thinking.⁴³ In either case, it is worth noting that Paul’s other references in these scenes resemble the speech patterns of Christians addressing non-Christian Jews elsewhere. In Acts^B 22, Paul refers once to “God” (Acts^B 22:3). In Acts^B 26, he refers to “God” five times (Acts^B 26:6, 8, 20, 22, 29), and also mentions ὁ χριστός, “the messiah” (Acts^B 26:23) and τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου,

⁴² Similar combinations of “lord” in the vocative and nominative are found in Luke^B 12:41–42; 14:22–23 and Acts^B 9:10–11, 13–15.

⁴³ Jones suggests, “Luke has Paul call Jesus ‘Lord’ at the conversion simply because Luke was accustomed to calling Jesus ‘Lord’ and felt it appropriate for Paul to do the same” (Jones, “Title,” 96). Haenchen suggests that “Luke is thinking of his readers, not about Paul’s listeners” (Haenchen, *Acts*, 626). In light of the sociolinguistic patterns identified in this chapter, however, it seems unlikely that “Luke” has intentionally attributed this language to Paul, at least not for the reasons specified. Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger remark that Paul’s reference to Jesus as “the Lord” in Acts 22:10 is “improbable in view of the care he has taken so far to avoid offending his Jewish audience” (Josep Rius-Camps and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae: A Comparison with the Alexandrian Tradition*, vol. 4 [London: T&T Clark International, 2009], 235; cf. Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 269). The term does not appear at Acts 22:10 in the Bezan tradition. At Acts 26:15, κύριος is lacking in manuscripts H P 049. 323. 1241. M.

“the name of Jesus of Nazareth” (Acts^B 26:9). As we will see below, Christians use the latter phrases only with non-Christian addressees.

Before concluding this section, two other references to “the Lord” also deserve mention: Peter mentions τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, “the Lord’s spirit” to Sapphira (Acts^B 5:9), and he and Simon of Samaria discuss “praying to the Lord” (Acts^B 8:22, 24). Should either of these be considered instances in which a Christian refers to Jesus as “the Lord” when addressing a non-Christian Jew (or Samaritan)? Probably not. In both cases, Peter may be referring to the Jewish/Christian god rather than to Jesus. Furthermore, even if he does mean Jesus, it would be misleading to classify Simon and Sapphira as “non-Christian” characters. Both display at least some markers of Christian identity. Sapphira and her husband are portrayed as ostensible members of the Christian community who behave in ways that externally resemble practices of other Christians, and Simon is a baptized believer according to Acts^B 8:13. Although their salvation may be in doubt, therefore, both Sapphira and Simon could be understood as Christians with regard to patterns of speech.⁴⁴

A plausible case can therefore be made that references to Jesus as “the Lord” are Christian insider language in the Vaticanus tradition, although references to “the Lord” that denote the Jewish/Christian god are not.⁴⁵

References to “the Lord” by Christians Addressing Non-Christian Gentiles

Another distinction is also evident: while Christians regularly make substantive references to “the Lord” both amongst themselves and when addressing non-Christian Jews, they never speak this way when addressing non-Christian gentiles. There are only two occasions on which Christians use the term “lord” in the latter social context, and both instances of the term are predicative. In Athens, Paul mentions ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗτος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπάρχων κύριος, “the god who made the world and everything in it, who is lord of heaven and earth” (Acts^B

⁴⁴ On the Christian status of Simon, cf. Stenschke, *Luke’s Portrait*, 361.

⁴⁵ In Luke^B, Jesus is referred to as “lord” in direct speech by angels addressing shepherds (Luke^B 2:11), disciples addressing disciples (Luke^B 24:34), and Elizabeth addressing Mary (Luke^B 1:43). It is difficult to know how to classify Mary in terms of “Christian” identity. Instances in Luke^B 19:31, 34 probably mean “master.”

17:24). Peter tells Cornelius' circle that Jesus ἔστιν πάντων κύριος, "is lord of all" (Acts^B 10:36). It is important to note that in both cases the apostles refer to "the lord" only predicatively, asserting the lordship of Jesus and the Christian god rather than assuming it. Addressing non-Christian gentiles, therefore, Christians never make substantive references either Jesus or to their god as "the Lord."⁴⁶

Summary

To summarize, Christian references to "the lord Jesus (Christ)" and "the Lord" co-vary with the identity of their addressees. They refer to "the lord Jesus (Christ)" almost exclusively amongst themselves, and a plausible case can also be made for considering substantive references to Jesus as "the Lord" to be Christian insider language, although Christians occasionally speak this way to non-Christian Jews. This section has also shown that while Christians make substantive references to "the Lord" both amongst themselves and addressing non-Christian Jews, they never speak this way when addressing non-Christian gentiles. In fact, they almost always employ the term "god" in the latter context.⁴⁷

"Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth"

Although in some ways Christians speak similarly amongst themselves and when addressing non-Christian Jews, other expressions only appear in one or the other of these contexts. For instance, Christians never refer to "Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth" or "Jesus (Christ) the Nazorean" in inter-Christian dialogue, but they do employ the

⁴⁶ Although gentiles are present in Pisidian Antioch (Acts^B 13:47) and Caesarea (Acts^B 26:15) when Paul refers to "the Lord," both speeches are primarily addressed to Jews.

⁴⁷ Christians only make five substantive references to their god that do not include either "god" or "lord," and only one is addressed to non-Christian gentiles, when Paul refers to "what you worship as unknown" in Athens (Acts^B 17:23). He is referring to an inscription "to an unknown god" that he has just cited. Three of the others are references to "the Father": by Peter on Pentecost (Acts^B 2:33) and by Jesus addressing his disciples (Acts^B 1:4, 7). Stephen also speaks of "the Most High" addressing the Sanhedrin (Acts^B 7:48). Regarding usage of "lord" in Acts, Cadbury comments that references to Jesus as "lord" "in the mouth of Christians speaking to Christians" suggest "that it was regarded by Luke as the appropriate way to speak of him within the Christian circle" (Cadbury, "Titles," 1933, 360). Mowery briefly surveys terms used to refer to God in Luke-Acts, observing that "most of the references to the Lord in Acts are in the discourse of Jewish Christians or narrative descriptions of events set in Palestine" (Mowery, "Lord, God, and Father," 91).

expression when addressing non-Christian characters, especially non-Christian Jews.⁴⁸

Christians use the expression five times in the Vaticanus tradition:

- Peter refers to Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον, “Jesus of Nazareth” when addressing Jews and proselytes on Pentecost (Acts^B 2:22).
- Peter commands a lame man in Jerusalem to walk ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου, “in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth” (Acts^B 3:6).
- He repeats the formula when explaining the healing to Jewish leaders (Acts^B 4:10).
- Paul tells Agrippa how he used to oppose τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου, “the name of Jesus of Nazareth” (Acts^B 26:9).
- Peter speaks of Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ, “Jesus from Nazareth” at Cornelius’ house (Acts^B 10:38).

Four of these five instances are addressed to non-Christian Jews, and it may not be a coincidence that the fifth is addressed to Cornelius, a gentile with marked Jewish interests. The latter reference has a slightly different form than the others, however.

The expression “Jesus of Nazareth” also appears on two other occasions in the Vaticanus tradition, once in the mouth of non-Christian Jews themselves: witnesses accusing Stephen in the Sanhedrin mention his proclamation of Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος οὗτος, “this Jesus of Nazareth” (Acts^B 6:14). The other occurrence is in Acts^B 22, where Jesus tells Saul, ἐγώ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος, ὃν σὺ διώκεις, “I am Jesus of Nazareth whom you are persecuting” (Acts^B 22:8). It is interesting that Jesus refers to himself as “Jesus of Nazareth” only in Acts^B 22. In Acts^B 9 and 26, most manuscripts, including Codex Vaticanus, read ἐγώ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς ὃν σὺ διώκεις, “I am Jesus whom you are persecuting” (Acts^B 9:5; 26:15).⁴⁹ The use of “Jesus of Nazareth” in Acts^B 22 may serve to reinforce the Jewish emphasis of that account, including its portrayal of Saul as a non-Christian Jew.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ On the etymology and interpretation of Ναζωραῖος, as it commonly appears in Acts, see, e.g., William Foxwell Albright, “The Names ‘Nazareth’ and ‘Nazoraean,’” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 65 (1946): 397–401; Barrett, *Acts*, 1994, 1:140; J. Spencer Kennard, “Nazorean and Nazareth,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 66 (1947): 79–81; J. Spencer Kennard, “Was Capernaum the Home of Jesus?,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 65 (1946): 131–37. The current study is only interested in when the term is used, not in what it means.

⁴⁹ Manuscripts reading “Jesus” in Acts 9:5 include ⲛ B Ψ 33. 1739 while A C E 104 *pc* have Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος, “Jesus of Nazareth.” Manuscripts reading “Jesus” in Acts 26:15 include ⲛ A

To summarize, Christians never refer to “Jesus of Nazareth” amongst themselves. The expression appears most often when they have non-Christian Jewish addressees.⁵¹

“The Messiah” and “Jesus Christ”

Another term Christians use especially with non-Christian Jewish addressees is χριστός, “messiah.” Christians employ the term on a number of occasions when addressing non-Christian Jews. Some are references to “the messiah” that denote Jesus implicitly (Acts^B 2:31; 3:18, 20; 17:3a; 26:23), and others are predicative, as when Peter tells Jews and proselytes on Pentecost that God has made Jesus καὶ κύριον...καὶ χριστόν, “both lord and messiah” (Acts^B 2:36; see also 17:3b). This way of speaking contrasts how Christians speak amongst themselves and when addressing non-Christian gentiles: Christians never refer to “the messiah” in either of the latter contexts.

The fuller phrase “Jesus Christ” (without “lord”) may not correlate with Christians’ having non-Christian addressees, but again, there seems to be a relationship with Jewish identity. Christians use the phrase at least three times addressing non-Christian Jews, mentioning “Jesus Christ (of Nazareth)” in baptismal (Acts^B 2:38) and healing formulae (Acts^B 3:6; 4:10).⁵² There may also be a reference to “Jesus Christ” (without “lord”) in inter-Christian dialogue, when Peter announces to Aeneas of Lydda that ἰαταί σε

B C D E Ψ 048. 096. 33. 1739 while 048. 6. 104. 614. 1175 *pc* have “Jesus of Nazareth.” The longer forms probably arose out of a desire, conscious or otherwise, to harmonize with Acts 22.

⁵⁰ Cf. Beverly Roberts Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light: Aspects of Conversion in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 72.

⁵¹ Referring to Jesus as “Jesus of Nazareth” may suggest lack of familiarity or relationship with him, making its use undesirable amongst Christians. Regarding Jewish resonances of the phrase, Moore claims that such geographical modifiers are “very common among the Jews” (George F. Moore, “Nazarene and Nazareth,” in *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part 1, The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, vol. 1 [London: Macmillan, 1920], 427). Cf. H. H. Schaefer, “Ναζαρηνός, Ναζωραῖος,” ed. Gerhard Kittel, trans. Geoffrey William Bromiley, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967). “Jesus of Nazareth” is used three times in Luke^B: by an unclean spirit addressing Jesus (Luke^B 4:34; cf. Mark 1:24), by Jews addressing a blind man (Luke^B 18:37), and by disciples talking with a Jew whom they do not recognize (Luke^B 24:19).

⁵² It may be significant that almost all references to “Jesus Christ” without “lord” in the Vaticanus tradition occur in formulaic contexts (Acts^B 2:38; 3:6; 4:10; 9:34; 10:48; 16:18). The exceptions are Acts^B 10:36 and possibly Acts^B 8:12.

Ἰησοῦς [ὁ] χριστός, “Jesus Christ heals you” (Acts^B 9:34).⁵³ The text says little about Aeneas, but he may implicitly be depicted as a Christian: the narrator announces before the healing takes place that Peter is visiting “the saints” (Acts^B 9:32). Non-Christians are also present in Lydda, however (Acts^B 9:35), and Aeneas is not explicitly labeled a “disciple” as is Tabitha in the next pericope (Acts^B 9:36). Since Aeneas’ Christian status cannot be determined conclusively, Peter may or may not refer here to “Jesus Christ” with a Christian addressee. On the other hand, Barrett is no doubt correct that he is portrayed as a Jew rather than a gentile given that the story occurs before Peter visits Cornelius,⁵⁴ which means that when Christians refer to “Jesus Christ” (without “lord”), it seems to relate to the Jewish identity of their addressees. The only time a Christian refers to “Jesus Christ” addressing a non-Christian gentile is when Peter tells Cornelius’ assembly about peace that comes διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “through Jesus Christ” (Acts^B 10:36), which may not be a coincidence.⁵⁵

References to Jesus: Overview

The sociolinguistic patterns identified so far are more clearly evident when considered in light of other references to Jesus in the narrative. Because almost all substantive references to the Christians’ god in the narrative involve either the noun θεός, “god” or

⁵³ B² includes the article, but B¹ does not. Although there are two references to “(our) lord Jesus Christ” in inter-Christian dialogue (Acts^B 11:17; 15:26), the presence of “lord” renders these hardly comparable to “Jesus Christ” without it.

⁵⁴ Barrett, *Acts*, 1994, 1:480. Many commentators suggest that Aeneas is probably a Christian, e.g., *ibid.*; F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Book of the Acts: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 210; and Peterson, *Acts*, 321. Pervo comments, “It is utterly irrelevant to the story whether he was a believer” (Pervo, *Acts*, 253). This is insightful: although it would be convenient for the current study, the narrator shows no concern with specifying Aeneas’ Christian status.

⁵⁵ Additional references to “the messiah” and “Jesus Christ” appear in other manuscripts. In Vaticanus, Paul tells some (Jewish) disciples of John the Baptist that John had instructed “that they believe in the one coming after him, that is, in Jesus” (Acts^B 19:4). Manuscripts Ψ 945. 1175. 1739. 1891 *pc* read “Jesus Christ”; ℣, “the messiah, Jesus”; and D, “Christ.” In manuscripts 36. 323. 453. 945. 1739. 1891, the Ethiopian eunuch says to Philip, “I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God,” and in E “in the messiah, the son of God” (Acts 8:37). Although probably a gentile, the Ethiopian has marked Jewish interests (Bock, *Acts*, 342; cf. Barrett, *Acts*, 1994, 1:420, 425; Peterson, *Acts*, 291; Pervo, *Acts*, 224). On use of the term in Jewish contexts, see C. Ryder Smith, “The Names Christ and Jesus in Acts,” *Expository Times* 19 (1907): 46; and Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 257–59. Cadbury suggests that Luke’s use of χριστός, “messiah” shows the “Jewish messianic background of the gospel” (Cadbury, “Titles,” 1933, 358). In Luke^B, “messiah” is used only substantively, never with Jesus’ name, and appears in both narration and direct speech. When addressed to a non-Jew in Luke^B 23:2, the term is explained.

the noun κύριος, “lord,” these have already been discussed.⁵⁶ Christians refer to Jesus, on the other hand, in a wider variety of ways, an overview of which provides further evidence of sociolinguistic variation, as well as context for the particular references to Jesus discussed above.

In Inter-Christian Dialogue

With the possible exception of Ananias’ words to Saul in Acts^B 9, amongst themselves Christians only refer to Jesus using a limited number of short, direct expressions: “Jesus” (Acts^B 1:16), “the lord Jesus” (Acts^B 1:21; 15:11; 20:24, 35; 21:13), “our lord Jesus” (Acts^B 20:21), “the lord Jesus Christ” (Acts^B 11:17; 15:26), “the Lord” (e.g., Acts^B 11:16; 20:19), and perhaps “Jesus Christ,” if Aeneas is a Christian (Acts^B 9:34).

By Christians Addressing Non-Christian Jews

Christian speech patterns differ when they have non-Christian addressees, as is particularly evident when they address non-Christians Jews. Not only do Christians only use the expressions “Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth,” “the messiah,” and “the righteous one” in the latter social context, but they also regularly employ relative clauses and other oblique language, contrasting how they speak of Jesus amongst themselves. On Pentecost, for instance, Peter refers to:

- Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον, ἄνδρα ἀποδεδειγμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς δυνάμεσι καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις οἷς ἐποίησεν δι’ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν..., τοῦτον, “Jesus of Nazareth, a man attested to you by God by deeds of power and wonders and signs which God did through him in your midst..., this man...” (Acts^B 2:22–23)
- τοῦ χριστοῦ, “the messiah” (Acts^B 2:31)
- τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν, “this Jesus” (Acts^B 2:32) and
- τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, “this Jesus whom you crucified” (Acts^B 2:36).

After the crowd inquires about salvation, Peter tells them to repent and be baptized ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “in the name of Jesus Christ” (Acts^B 2:38).

⁵⁶ See above.

One observes how Peter uses the expressions “Jesus of Nazareth” and “the messiah” addressing these non-Christian Jews, and how he qualifies other references to Jesus in ways that distinguish them from typical inter-Christian speech. Rather than referring to “Jesus,” for instance, he mentions “this Jesus” and “this Jesus whom you crucified.”

Peter speaks to other non-Christian Jews in Jerusalem about:

- τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς μὲν παρεδώκατε καὶ ἠρνήσασθε κατὰ πρόσωπον Πιλάτου, “[God’s] servant Jesus whom you handed over and rejected before Pilate” (Acts^B 3:13)
- τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον, “the holy and righteous one” (Acts^B 3:14)
- τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς...ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, “the author of life whom God raised from the dead” (Acts^B 3:15)
- τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ, “his messiah” (Acts^B 3:18)
- τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δεῖξασθαι ἄχρι..., “the messiah appointed for you, Jesus, who has to remain in heaven until...” (Acts^B 3:20–21) and
- τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ, “his servant” (Acts^B 3:26).

And consider other references to Jesus:

- Peter tells Jewish leaders that a lame man has been healed ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, “in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth whom you crucified, whom God raised from the dead” (Acts^B 4:10), also referring to Jesus with the demonstrative οὗτος, “this one” (Acts^B 4:10, 11).
- Peter and the apostles speak to Jewish leaders about Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς διεχειρίσασθε κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου, “Jesus whom you had killed, hanging him on a tree” (Acts^B 5:30) and τοῦτον, “this one” (Acts^B 5:31).
- Addressing the Sanhedrin, Stephen calls Jesus, τοῦ δικαίου, οὗ νῦν ὑμεῖς προδόται καὶ φονεῖς ἐγένεσθε, “the righteous one, whose betrayers and murderers you have now become” (Acts^B 7:52).
- In Acts^B 22, Ananias refers to Jesus as τὸν δίκαιον, “the righteous one” (Acts^B 22:14).

All of these are strikingly dissimilar to how Christians typically refer to Jesus amongst themselves. The references to “the messiah” and “the righteous one” are not paralleled in inter-Christian dialogue, and, except perhaps for Ananias’ words in Acts^B 9, the long relative clauses are similarly distinct.

The apostle Paul also refers to Jesus in oblique ways when he addresses non-Christian Jews:

- Paul tells disciples of John that the latter had instructed to believe εἰς τὸν ἐρχόμενον μετ' αὐτὸν..., τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, “in the one coming after him, that is, in Jesus” (Acts^B 19:4).
- At the synagogue in Thessalonica, he announces, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς ὃν Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν, “The messiah is Jesus whom I proclaim to you” (Acts^B 17:3).
- He uses the demonstrative οὗτος, “this one” in the synagogue of Damascus (Acts^B 9:20, 22).

In Pisidian Antioch, Paul not only refers to Jesus with the demonstrative pronoun (Acts^B 13:38,⁵⁷ 39), but also as:

- σωτῆρα Ἰησοῦν, “a savior, Jesus” (Acts^B 13:23)
- Ἰησοῦν, “Jesus” (Acts^B 13:33) and
- ὃν...ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν, “he whom God raised” (Acts^B 13:37).⁵⁸

Although the latter references are less oblique than others we have seen, Paul’s initial appositive phrase is still a relatively indirect way of referring to Jesus when compared with inter-Christian dialogue.

All this is not to claim that there is no overlap in how Christians refer to Jesus addressing non-Christian Jews and amongst themselves. Although I have offered alternative readings, it is true that Paul refers to Jesus as “the Lord” in two of the Damascus road accounts (Acts^B 22:10; 26:15)⁵⁹; that it is difficult to determine the precise Christian status of the Philippian jailor, to whom Paul and Silas mention “the lord Jesus” (Acts^B 16:31); and that the most salient identity of Saul in Acts^B 9, to whom Ananias mentions “the Lord..., Jesus who appeared to you on the road by which you came” (Acts^B 9:17), is a matter of debate.⁶⁰ In fact, considered in the light of other references to Jesus in the

⁵⁷ B* has the neuter “through this.”

⁵⁸ This phrase may or may not function substantively.

⁵⁹ Addressing Agrippa, Paul refers to “the name of Jesus of Nazareth” (Acts^B 26:9), “the Lord” (Acts^B 26:15), and “the messiah” (Acts^B 26:23).

⁶⁰ See above, pp. 52, 54. It is also not clear whom Stephen is addressing when he refers to τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, “the Son of Man” (Acts^B 7:56).

narrative, Ananias' words in the latter scene suggest a liminal aspect to Saul's identity. On the one hand, his reference to Jesus as "the Lord" fits the episode's emphasis on Saul's emerging Christian identity: this way of speaking is primarily limited to inter-Christian dialogue elsewhere in the narrative. On the other hand, the qualified reference to "Jesus who appeared to you" differs from other inter-Christian speech, and more closely resembles speech patterns of Christians addressing non-Christian Jews. Ananias' words thus present a sort of internal tension and caution against unqualified categorization of Saul as either a "Christian" or a "non-Christian Jew" at that point in the story.⁶¹

They also warn against any attempt to speak of sociolinguistic variation as if it consisted of hard and fast rules rather than of patterns and tendencies. Language, after all, is messy, and one would not expect the average writer to use it with absolute consistency. One may, however, speak of frequencies and tendencies, and in this sense Christians do seem to refer to Jesus in different ways when addressing non-Christian Jews than amongst themselves: in contrast to the short, direct references to Jesus found in inter-Christian dialogue, Christians use more oblique expressions and relative clauses when addressing non-Christian Jews.

By Christians Addressing Non-Christian Gentiles

The most striking feature of Christians' references to Jesus when addressing non-Christian gentiles, meanwhile, is their rarity. The only Christian who mentions Jesus substantively to "pure" gentiles is Paul, who announces in Athens that the world will be judged ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὥρισεν, "by a man whom [God] has appointed" (Acts^B 17:31), a reference that is notably oblique. Peter also refers to Jesus when addressing Cornelius, using the demonstrative οὗτος, "he" (Acts^B 10:36, 40, 42), and referring to "Jesus Christ" (Acts^B 10:36), and "Jesus from Nazareth" (Acts^B 10:38).

⁶¹ Relative clauses also appear in prayer language—in prayer, a group of Christians refer to τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν ὃν ἔχρισας, "your holy servant Jesus, whom you have anointed" (Acts^B 4:27) and τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγίου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ, "the name of your holy servant Jesus" (Acts^B 4:30) (cf. Acts^B 3:13, 26)—and in angelic discourse—an angel speaks of οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, "this Jesus who has been taken up from you into heaven" (Acts^B 1:11). It is difficult to compare these to inter-human dialogue, however.

References to Jesus and the Christians' God by Non-Christian Speakers

We have now seen that Christian references to Jesus and to their god co-vary with both the Christian status and the gentile-Jewish identity of their addressees. It is also interesting to observe that when non-Christians refer to the same figures, their speech patterns generally resemble how Christians speak in corresponding social contexts.

References to Jesus

When non-Christians refer to Jesus, their speech patterns resemble how Christians speak when addressing non-Christian characters. They use expressions that Christians only use when addressing non-Christians, and also use other qualified and indirect language:

- The high priest refers to Jesus as τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου, “this man” when addressing Peter and the apostles (Acts^B 5:28).
- False witnesses decry Stephen’s teaching about Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος οὗτος, “this Jesus of Nazareth” (Acts^B 6:14).
- Jewish exorcists try to cast out an evil spirit in the name of τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν Παῦλος κηρύσσει, “Jesus whom Paul proclaims” (Acts^B 19:13).
- Angry people in Thessalonica accuse believers of βασιλέα ἕτερον λέγοντες εἶναι Ἰησοῦν, “saying that there is another king, Jesus (Acts^B 17:7).
- Festus tells Agrippa that the Jews and Paul disagree περί τινος Ἰησοῦ τεθνηκότος ὃν ἔφασκεν ὁ Παῦλος ζῆν, “about a certain Jesus who has died, whom Paul was saying is alive” (Acts^B 25:19).

These qualified references contrast the more direct references to Jesus made in inter-Christian dialogue, and several clearly imply that the speaker and/or addressee are unfamiliar with Jesus. It is also striking that the false witnesses refer to “Jesus of Nazareth,” an expression Christians never use amongst themselves.⁶²

References to the Jewish/Christian God

When non-Christians refer to the Jewish/Christian god, their speech patterns likewise resemble how Christians speak to non-Christian addressees, in this case to addressees of the appropriate gentile or Jewish identity.

⁶² Non-Christians never refer to Jesus as “the Lord.”

Recall that when addressing non-Christian Jews, Christians usually refer to “God” in an unmodified form. This is also how non-Christian Jews speak amongst themselves (Acts^B 2:11; 5:39; 6:11), addressing Paul (Acts^B 23:4), and addressing the proconsul Gallio, before whom they accuse Paul of persuading people *παρὰ τὸν νόμον...σεβέσθαι τὸν θεόν*, “to worship God in a manner contrary to the law” (Acts^B 18:13). The latter instance is intriguing, as Christians themselves tend to clarify the identity of “god” when they speak to non-Christian gentiles, and indeed, a close reading of the scene suggests that the Jews may treat Gallio as more familiar with their god and customs than he would like to admit. He replies, *εἰ δὲ ζητήματά ἐστιν περὶ λόγου καὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ νόμου τοῦ καθ’ ὑμᾶς, ὁψεσθε αὐτοί*, “If it is a question of words and names and your own law, see to it yourselves” (Acts^B 18:15). At the most basic level, Gallio’s reply concerns jurisdiction and whether or not he will hear their case,⁶³ but his words also suggest that the Jews’ words imply an undesired rapport between them. His reply pushes back, emphasizing his social distance.

In contrast to non-Christian Jewish speakers, one of the only non-Christian gentiles to use the term “god” does so in a modified form: a spirit-possessed (gentile) slave girl in Philippi announces, *οἱ ἄνθρωποι δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου εἰσίν*, “These people are slaves of the most high god” (Acts^B 16:17). Her words recall how Christians tend to modify first references to “god” when speaking to non-Christian gentiles.⁶⁴

Similarly, unmodified references to “God” are made by Cornelius (Acts^B 10:33) and his envoys (Acts^B 10:22), and Cornelius also refers to “the Lord,” telling Peter that they have gathered to hear everything commanded him *ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου*, “by the Lord” (Acts^B

⁶³ Pervo, *Acts*, 454–55; Peterson, *Acts*, 517–18.

⁶⁴ On the use of this expression by gentiles, and by Jews addressing gentiles, see Paul R. Trebilco, “Paul and Silas—‘Servants of the Most High God’ (Acts 16.16–18),” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 11 (1989): 51–73. Trebilco suggests that the slave girl may not be referring to Paul’s god at all, a point worth noting. In some manuscripts, the Ethiopian eunuch refers to “God” in an unmodified form at Acts 8:37. His gentile, Jewish, and/or Christian identity is a complex issue. See above, p. 63 n. 55.

10:33). Again, this language resembles how Peter speaks addressing these particular characters.⁶⁵

References to Jesus and the Christians' God: Conclusion

To conclude, this section has shown that references by Christian characters to Jesus and to their god co-vary with both the Christian status and the gentile-Jewish identity of their addressees, and that non-Christian characters speak in ways resembling how Christians speak when addressing them. Especially striking are ways Christians speak both in inter-Christian dialogue and when addressing non-Christian Jews, but rarely or never when addressing non-Christian gentiles. As will be suggested below, these ways of speaking point to a commonality between Christians and Jews not shared by non-Christian gentiles.

Excursus: References to Jesus and the Christians' God in other Acts Traditions

Before examining the relationship between social context and a second linguistic variable, plural forms of address, it is methodologically important to observe that the sociolinguistic relationships discussed above are not mirrored in all Acts traditions, as the following examples reveal:

In Acts^B, Christians only refer to “the lord Jesus (Christ)” amongst themselves, or with those about to join their number; it functions as “insider language.” In some other traditions, however, this expression is used in a wider variety of social contexts. In Codex Bezae, for instance, Paul tells a non-Christian audience at the synagogue of

⁶⁵ It would seem surprising for a “pure” gentile to refer to God as “the Lord” given that this language is never used by Christians in that social context, a sense that may account for the substitution of θεός, “God” in some manuscripts: P⁷⁴ D M. Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger comment, “The avoidance of the term ‘Lord’ in the mouth of a Gentile in the Bezan text is typical..., this being a designation that is reserved for Yahweh when referred to by Jews or for Jesus when referred to by believers” (Josep Rius-Camps and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae: A Comparison with the Alexandrian Tradition*, vol. 2 [London: T&T Clark International, 2006], 268; cf. Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 286–87). There is one other reference by non-Christians to “God” in Acts^B: Samaritans remark among themselves that Simon is ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη, “the ‘Great Power’ of God” (Acts^B 8:10). On this construction, see Pervo, *Acts*, 209–210; and Jarl Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1985), 162–91.

Pisidian Antioch that their god has raised “the lord Jesus Christ” (Acts 13:33), and in *Mil. ambros.* 97 (GA 614), he refers to “our lord Jesus.”⁶⁶

Similarly, in Acts^B Christians do not make substantive references to “the Lord” when addressing non-Christian gentiles, but according to a number of other manuscripts, Paul refers substantively to “the Lord” addressing non-Christian gentiles in Athens (Acts 17:27).⁶⁷

Likewise, Christians in Acts^B do not refer to “Jesus Christ” addressing non-Christian gentiles apart from Cornelius, which contrasts manuscripts such as *Par. gr.* 14 (GA 33), in which Paul commands a Lystran man to stand in the name of Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “Jesus Christ” (Acts 14:10).

As a final example, *Oxf. Laud. gr.* 35 (GA E) may include an instance of “the messiah” in what is essentially inter-Christian dialogue, a way of speaking that never occurs in that context in Acts^B. In the former tradition, the Ethiopian eunuch says to Philip, “I believe in the messiah, the son of God” (Acts 8:37), and it is possible that since the Ethiopian is in the process of making a profession of faith, he should be understood as a Christian character.

As remarked at the beginning of the chapter, the sociolinguistic differences just cited confirm that linguistic analysis should be based on single manuscript traditions rather than on editions that conflate linguistic data from multiple versions of the text, since not all versions present the same sociolinguistic witness. They also support one of the overall methodological conclusions of this thesis, that claims regarding the relationship between speech patterns and social context should not be based on “intuition,” but on appropriate evidence. If references to Jesus and the Christian god relate in different ways to Christian status even between manuscripts of the same narrative, it is difficult to see how one could expect to accurately “intuit” their significance.

⁶⁶ Cf. Acts 18:4. The Christian status of Aeneas of Lydda is also open to debate (see above, pp. 62–63): Peter announces that “the lord Jesus Christ” has healed him according to manuscripts A. 36. 1175 *pc* (Acts 9:34). On “so-called Christological variants” in the Bezan text, see Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 62–64; and Pervo, *Acts*, 353.

⁶⁷ In manuscripts *Oxf. Laud. gr.* 35 (E) and what the NA²⁷ terms the majority text (ℳ).

Plural Forms of Address

Returning to the Vaticanus tradition, let us now investigate a final linguistic variable: plural forms of address. This section will show that Christians use the kinship term ἀδελφοί, “brothers,” as a form of address both amongst themselves and when addressing groups of non-Christian Jews, but that they never employ kinship terms when addressing non-Christian gentiles.⁶⁸

In Inter-Christian Dialogue

The only plural form of address used in inter-Christian dialogue is (ἄνδρες) ἀδελφοί, “brothers.” This kinship term is used by Peter (Acts^B 1:16; 15:7), James (Acts^B 15:13), and the Twelve (Acts^B 6:3) when addressing Christian groups.⁶⁹

By Christians Addressing Non-Christian Jews

Christians also use kinship terms when they address non-Christian Jews:

- Peter uses the address “brothers” for Jews and proselytes on Pentecost (Acts^B 2:29) and for those assembled at Solomon’s Portico (Acts^B 3:17).
- Paul uses the same address for the Sanhedrin (Acts^B 23:1, 5, 6) and for Jewish leaders in Rome (Acts^B 28:17).

⁶⁸ For a thorough survey of forms of address in classical and Roman period Greek, see Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address*; “Greek Address System”; and cf. “Literal and Extended Use of Kinship Terms in Documentary Papyri,” *Mnemosyne* 57 (2004): 131–76. On plural forms of address, see *Greek Forms of Address*, 177–84. On kinship terms, see *ibid.*, 61–89; and “Greek Address System,” 512–16. Dickey ascribes usage of ἀδελφός, “brother” in the LXX, including Tobit, to translation (*ibid.*, 513 n. 62), and cites an independent growing use of this term as a vocative in subsequent centuries. She writes that it was used across the Greek world by the first century CE, frequently for non-relatives, and not always with connotations of intimacy (p. 514). Kinship terminology in New Testament texts is discussed by, e.g., Trebilco, *Self-designations*, 16–67; Reidar Aasgaard, *My Beloved Brothers and Sisters!: Christian Siblingship in Paul* (London: T&T Clark International, 2004); Mary Katherine Birge, *The Language of Belonging: A Rhetorical Analysis of Kinship Language in First Corinthians* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002); Philip F. Esler, “Family Imagery and Christian Identity in Gal 5:13 to 6:10,” in *Constructing Early Christian Families*, ed. H. Moxnes (London: Routledge, 1997), 121–49; David Horrell, “From Adelphoi to Oikos Theou: Social Transformation in Pauline Christianity,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 120 (2001): 293–311; Troy W. Martin, “The Brother Body: Addressing and Describing the Galatians and the Agitators as Adelphoi,” *Biblical Research* 47 (2002): 5–18; Kuecker, *Spirit and the “Other,”* 186–88, 212–15; Stenschke, *Luke’s Portrait*, 328–30. For Graeco-Roman context, see e.g., Harland, “Familial Dimensions”; *Dynamics*, 63–96.

⁶⁹ Although they are not vocatives, the Jerusalem council’s letter to gentile believers includes references to both Jewish and gentile Christians as “brothers” (Acts 15:23). Cf. Trebilco, *Self-designations*, 51–53.

- Stephen addresses the Sanhedrin as ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, “brothers and fathers” (Acts^B 7:2).
- Paul uses the latter phrase for a Jewish crowd (Acts^B 22:1).

Peter also addresses Jewish crowds as ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, “people of Israel” (Acts^B 2:22; 3:12) and Jewish leaders as ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, “rulers of the people and elders” (Acts^B 4:8). The most important point to observe, however, is that (Jewish) Christians use kinship terms as forms of address for both Christians and non-Christian Jews.

By Christians Addressing Non-Christian Gentiles

In contrast, Christians do not use kinship terms when addressing non-Christian gentiles, with the one possible exception of “those who fear God” in Pisidian Antioch. Paul uses three forms of address in the latter speech:

- ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, “people of Israel and those who fear God” (Acts^B 13:16)
- ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, υἱοὶ γένους Ἀβραάμ οἱ ἐν ὑμῖν φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, “brothers, sons of the race of Abraham, those among you who fear God” (Acts^B 13:26) and
- ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (Acts^B 13:38).

In the first address, Paul seems to distinguish between “people of Israel” and “those who fear God,” suggesting that the latter are not fully Jews. Yet the final address and even the second as it appears in Acts^B suggest that Paul is willing to call both groups “brothers.”⁷⁰ Does this imply that Christians would call anyone “brother,” whether Jew or gentile? No. “Those who fear God” are at the synagogue, and Paul calls them “brothers” together with Jewish addressees. It is also worth noting that Christians never address other non-Christian gentiles as “brothers” in the narrative, and together these facts suggest that the

⁷⁰ In Acts 13:26, most manuscripts read, ...υἱοὶ γένους Ἀβραάμ καὶ οἱ ἐν ὑμῖν φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, “...sons of the race of Abraham and those among you who fear God,” but Vaticanus and \mathfrak{P}^{45} lack the conjunction καί. Cf. Barrett, *Acts*, 1994, 1:639. It is very unlikely that Paul’s “two-fold” addresses are designed to avoid using “brothers” for “God-fearing Gentiles,” as Jervell suggests (Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 50).

Jewish context in Pisidian Antioch is the best lens through which to interpret the kinship term.⁷¹

Acts^B includes five other plural addresses addressed to non-Christian gentiles, none of which involve kinship terms:

- Paul addresses Athenians as ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, “Athenians” (Acts^B 17:22).
- Barnabas and Paul address a group in Lystra as ἄνδρες, “gentlemen” (Acts^B 14:15).
- Paul uses ἄνδρες, “gentlemen” for those aboard his ship to Rome (Acts^B 27:10, 21, 25).

It is worth observing that the latter short address is never used in inter-Christian dialogue or by Christians addressing non-Christian Jews.

Plural Forms of Address By Non-Christian Speakers

It is also worth remarking that forms of address used by non-Christian speakers resemble how Christians speak with the corresponding non-Christian addressees.

Non-Christian Jews twice use the vocative ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, “brothers” when addressing (Jewish) Christians: the crowd assembled on Pentecost addresses Peter and the apostles as “brothers” (Acts^B 2:37), and leaders of the synagogue in Pisidian Antioch address Paul and his companions in the same way (Acts^B 13:15). The expression ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, “people of Israel” is employed by Gamaliel addressing the Sanhedrin, and amongst Jews in the Temple (Acts^B 5:35; 21:28). These ways of speaking resemble how Christians speak when addressing non-Christian Jews.

In contrast to how non-Christian Jews speak, non-Christian gentiles never use kinship terms as forms of address. Instead:

- The Philippian jailor—who may not be a “pure” non-Christian, anyway—calls Paul and Silas κύριοι, “sirs” (Acts^B 16:30).
- Gallio addresses Paul’s accusers as ὧ Ἰουδαῖοι, “Jews” (Acts^B 18:14).

⁷¹ On the identity of “those who fear God,” see above, pp. 47–49. If they are proselytes, Paul’s forms of address do not present a problem here. Nevertheless, they are most likely gentiles with Jewish interests.

- The Ephesian silversmith Demetrius addresses his fellow artisans as ἄνδρες, “gentlemen” (Acts^B 19:25).
- The town clerk of Ephesus addresses a crowd as ἄνδρες Ἐφέσιοι, “Ephesians” (Acts^B 19:35).
- The Roman governor Festus addresses Agrippa and a mixed group of Jews and gentiles as Ἀγρίππα βασιλεῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ συμπαρόντες ἡμῖν ἄνδρες, “King Agrippa and all who are present with us” (Acts^B 25:24).

Given the prevalence of kinship terms in other social contexts, the neutral forms of address used by non-Christian gentiles are striking. It is also interesting that they mirror how Christians speak with non-Christian gentile addressees.

Summary

In summary, Christians use the kinship term “brothers” as a form of address amongst themselves and addressing non-Christian Jews, but never when addressing non-Christian gentiles. The content of the term also suggests a possible social significance: the fact that (Jewish) Christians call non-Christian Jews “brothers” may suggest that the latter are socially less distant from the Christian community than their gentile counterparts.⁷²

⁷² Many have suggested that Christian usage of kinship terms derives from Jewish practice. Brawley sees Jewish affiliation as the primary background to Paul’s addresses (Robert L. Brawley, “Paul in Acts: Aspects of Structure and Characterization,” *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 27 [1988]: 99). Chase calls ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί one of the “homiletic formulas of the synagogue” (Frederic Henry Chase, *The Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles* [London: Macmillan, 1902], 123). Fitzmyer thinks Christians adopted a pre-existing Jewish practice to express “the solidarity of Christians in their new found faith in Jesus Christ” (Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The Designations of Christians in Acts,” in *Unité et diversité dans l’église: texte officiel de la Commission biblique pontificale et travaux personnels des membres* [Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1989], 225). Long emphasizes the rhetorical power of this address in Acts 22 to underscore Paul’s Jewishness (Long, “Paulusbild,” 99). Barrett, on the other hand, argues that ἄνδρες constructs are not Semitic (Barrett, *Acts*, 1994, 1:83), while Haenchen suggests that this terminology comes from the Greek OT and has a “Greek ring” (Haenchen, *Acts*, 159, 278). Especially valuable is Harland’s illuminating discussion of how “Judean and Christian practices of employing family language reflect common modes of formulating and communicating identity or belonging within certain groups in the ancient Mediterranean” (see Harland, *Dynamics*, 63–96, qu. 63). Regardless of the derivation of the practice, the current study suggests that the use of kinship terms implies a closer connection between Christians and non-Christian Jews in the narrative than between the former and non-Christian gentiles. Although Aasgaard calls the use of “brothers” for Jews in Acts “striking” (Aasgaard, *Beloved*, 115), this is not the only way in which Christian speech patterns include Jews but not gentiles. On the term “brothers” in Acts, see also Paul Meierding, “Jews and Gentiles: A Narrative and Rhetorical

Plural forms of address may also shed light on two singular vocatives, although one must be cautious in extrapolating from the plural to the singular context. In both Acts^B 9 and Acts^B 22, Ananias addresses his former enemy as “brother Saul.” I suggested above that Ananias and Saul are portrayed primarily in terms of Christian identity in Acts^B 9, and of Jewish identity in Acts^B 22. It now appears that Ananias’ use of the kinship term “brother” would suit either social context. He could use it to emphasize shared Christian identity in Acts^B 9, and shared Jewish identity in Acts^B 22, with the dual Jewish and Christian identities of Saul and Ananias being the crucial factor allowing for this sociolinguistic flexibility.⁷³

Reading Acts^B in Light of Sociolinguistic Patterns

Having completed a selected sociolinguistic analysis of Acts^B, it is now time to turn to the “application” stage of the chapter. As explained in chapter 1, my hope in this thesis is to encourage more analyses of ancient texts to be informed by sociolinguistic insights, not only because the results of the study indicate that consideration of social factors including addressee identity is important for accurate assessment of the significance of words, but also because attention to sociolinguistic relationships can enhance close reading of an ancient text in other ways. In this section, I will illustrate a few of these.

Analysis of the Implied Audience in Acts” (PhD diss., Luther Northwestern Theological Seminary, 1992), 107–112. In the general context, note Vincent Skemp, “ἈΔΕΛΦΟΣ and the Theme of Kinship in Tobit,” *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 75 (1999): 101.

⁷³ Many commentators agree that “brother” in Acts 9 indicates shared Christian identity. Of these, some do not discuss the instance in Acts 22, e.g., Brawley, “Paul in Acts,” 99; Witherup, “Functional Redundancy,” 81; Parsons, *Acts*, 131; Pervo, *Acts*, 244. Others, such as Barrett and Peterson suggest that the kinship term affirms Saul as a Christian in both Acts 9 and 22 (Barrett, *Acts*, 1994, 1:457; *Acts*, 1994, 2:1040; Peterson, *Acts*, 310, 601). Marguerat and Tannehill understand the vocative in Acts 22 to indicate shared Jewish identity (Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, 197; Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, 2: The Acts of the Apostles: 279*). Kuecker considers it to indicate shared (Jewish) ethnic identity in both accounts (Kuecker, *Spirit and the “Other,”* 172–73 n. 117). My own perspective is rarely articulated. Elsewhere in Luke–Acts, the singular vocative “brother” is used only by church leaders addressing Paul (Acts^B 21:20), and in a parable at Luke^B 6:46. There are also two other plural forms of address in Acts^B: an angel calls Jesus’ disciples ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι, “Galileans” (Acts^B 1:11) and Stephen quotes Moses as calling some Israelites ἄνδρες, “guys” (Acts^B 7:26). That some may have considered the latter short address less than ideal as a form of address between Israelites/Jews may be suggested by the Bezan tradition, which has τί ποιεῖτε ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, “What are you doing, brothers?” The only plural vocative in Luke^B that is not an insult is Jesus’ address θυγατέρες Ἰερουσαλήμ, “daughters of Jerusalem” (Luke^B 23:28).

Social Dynamics

Beginning with social dynamics, we have seen that the forms of address used by Christian characters, and the ways they refer to Jesus and to their god co-vary with both the Christian status and the gentile-Jewish identity of their addressees. On the most basic level, this highlights the narrative's depiction of Christians as a group with boundaries. To recap, amongst themselves Christians use kinship terms as forms of address, almost all references to θεός, "god," are unmodified, and their references to Jesus are drawn from a small set of short, direct expressions, including references to "the lord Jesus (Christ)." They refer to both Jesus and to their god as "the Lord." When Christians address non-Christian Jews, on the other hand, they speak differently. Many references to Jesus in the latter social context are modified by long relative clauses, and in other cases oblique language is employed. A difference in terminology also appears: they do not refer to "the lord Jesus (Christ)," and they employ several expressions that never appear in inter-Christian dialogue, including "Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth," "the messiah," and "the righteous one." In all of these ways, Christians are portrayed as distinguishing linguistically between Christians and non-Christian Jews, and attention to this dynamic thus highlights the narrative's depiction of Christians as a group with boundaries. Put another way, even without knowing why particular ways of speaking are associated with particular social contexts, one can see that Christians in Acts^B are depicted as differentiating between Christians and non-Christian Jews because they speak differently to each group.

The linguistic boundary Christians draw between themselves and non-Christian gentiles is even more evident. Christians never use kinship terms when addressing non-Christian gentiles, nor do they refer to "the lord Jesus (Christ)" or substantively to "the Lord." Furthermore, most first references to "god" are modified, often in ways that suggest they want to clarify the identity of the god to whom they refer. These speech patterns contribute to a portrayal of non-Christian gentiles as being outside the boundaries of the Christian community.

They also differ from how Christians speak to non-Christian Jews. A striking feature of the linguistic relationships discussed in this chapter is that they point not only to a sort of

Christian “insider space,” as indicated by differences in how Christians speak to each other and to non-Christian characters, but also to a unique relationship between Jewish and Christian identity. This is suggested especially by similarities in how Christians speak amongst themselves and when addressing non-Christian Jews that are not shared when they speak to non-Christian gentiles. Christians do not address the latter as “brothers,” for instance, but they do address non-Christian Jews that way. Likewise, Christians make substantive references to “the Lord” both amongst themselves and addressing non-Christian Jews, and in both of the latter contexts most first references to “god” are unmodified, speech patterns that again are not typical of how they speak to non-Christian gentiles. Together, these speech patterns contribute to a depiction of Christians as differentiating not only according to Christian status, but also according to gentile-Jewish identity, and point to the existence of a secondary Christian-Jewish insider space in Acts^B that is evident both from the perspective of Christian characters, and—insofar as the linguistic distinctions made by Christian characters are mirrored by differences in how Jewish and gentile non-Christians speak—at a narrative level.

The latter dynamic is important to keep in mind if one is tempted to think of Acts as a pro-gentile and anti-Jewish text, a common and understandable reading of a narrative that reports how “Jews” reject the apostles’ message while gentiles accept it. The linguistic evidence surveyed in this chapter demonstrates that non-Christian Jews actually have a closer relationship with Christians than do non-Christian gentiles, not only theologically and culturally, but also linguistically. At the end of the narrative, non-Christian Jews are still “brothers,” a status non-Christian gentiles never achieve.

Themes and Theological Viewpoints

Linguistic evidence of the close relationship between Jewish and Christian identities also highlights an important theme in the narrative: the continuity of the Christian movement with its Jewish roots. Much has been written on the topic, and I will not rehearse it here, but will simply note that the tradition has portrayed its characters as speaking in ways that are in keeping with the theme.

Characterization

Sociolinguistic variation also contributes to characterization. The speech patterns attributed to Ananias and Jesus in the Damascus road accounts, for instance, draw attention to different aspects of Saul's identity. The fact that Ananias refers to "the god of our fathers" and "the righteous one" in Acts^B 22, and that Jesus calls himself "Jesus of Nazareth" in that account, contribute to a portrayal of Saul as a non-Christian Jew, because that is the context in which those ways of speaking typically appear elsewhere in the narrative. When Ananias speaks to Saul of "the Lord, Jesus who appeared to you..." in Acts^B 9, on the other hand, it highlights a different identity. Since references to Jesus as "the Lord" are more typical of inter-Christian dialogue than of how Christians speak to non-Christian Jews, Ananias' words in Acts^B 9 contribute to a portrayal of Saul as a Christian-to-be, while the fact that he qualifies his reference by specifying the identity of "the Lord" suggests that Saul is not yet fully integrated into the Christian community.

Sociolinguistic dynamics also contribute to the characterization of Cornelius, in particular his status vis-à-vis gentile-Jewish identity. We have seen that Christian characters distinguish between Jewish and gentile non-Christians in Acts^B, and at first glance Cornelius would seem to fall squarely in the latter category. Attention to the relationship between speech patterns and social context, however, confirms other evidence that he and his circle are not depicted as "pure" gentiles. Both Cornelius and Peter make unmodified first references to "God" in the episode, Cornelius refers substantively to "the Lord," and Peter refers to "Jesus from Nazareth" and to "Jesus Christ." All of these ways of speaking more closely resemble how Christians speak to non-Christian Jews than how they speak to non-Christian gentiles elsewhere in the narrative, which confirms that although Cornelius' gentile identity is repeatedly emphasized, he is actually being portrayed as "more Jewish" than other gentiles.

Implied and Intended Audience

The linguistic patterns discussed in this chapter also shed light on the question of implied and intended audience. As explained in chapter 1, one can approach the question of implied audience by comparing how the narrator speaks with how characters speak in

various social contexts, and on these grounds the narrator of Acts^B seems to have primarily Christian addressees:

- The narrator's first references to "God" in both Acts (Acts^B 1:3) and Luke (Luke^B 1:6) are unmodified, as are all subsequent references.
- The narrator refers to "the lord Jesus" (Acts^B 4:33; 8:16; 11:20; 19:5, 13, 17; 28:31), and speaks of Jesus as "the Lord" (e.g., Acts^B 9:1, 10, 11, 15, 27, 28, 42; 11:23; 13:12; 18:8, 9, 25; 23:11). Other references to "the Lord" may denote God, perhaps in the expressions ἄγγελος κυρίου, "an angel of the Lord" (Acts^B 5:19; 8:26; 12:7, 23) and ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου "the word of the Lord" (Acts^B 8:25; 12:24; 13:44, 49; 15:35; 19:10, 20).⁷⁴
- The narrator refers to "the messiah" (Acts^B 5:42; 8:5; 17:3; 18:5, 28), "Jesus Christ" (Acts^B 8:12; 10:48), "Christ Jesus" (Acts^B 24:24), and "the lord Jesus Christ" (Acts^B 28:31).⁷⁵

The references to "the Lord" and the unmodified first reference to "God" make an audience of non-Christian gentiles unlikely based on linguistic patterns in direct speech. The narrator's references "the lord Jesus (Christ)," furthermore, most closely resemble inter-Christian dialogue. But what about the narrator's references to "the messiah"? Christians in the narrative do not use the latter term substantively amongst themselves; they only use it when addressing non-Christian Jews. What does that suggest about the implied audience?

It is worth noting that all of the narrator's references to "the messiah" record Christian preaching to non-Christian Jews (or Samaritans), as does, incidentally, one of the references to "Jesus Christ." The narrator reports:

- The apostles went about εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, "proclaiming the good news about the messiah, Jesus" (Acts^B 5:42).
- Philip ἐκήρυσσεν...τὸν Χριστὸν, "proclaimed the messiah" in Samaria and about τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, "the name of Jesus Christ" (Acts^B 8:5, 12).
- Apollos amazed Jews by showing from the Scriptures that εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, "Jesus was the messiah" (Acts^B 18:28), told Jews in a synagogue of Thessalonica that τὸν χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν, "it was necessary for the messiah to

⁷⁴ "The Lord" could also be Jesus in the latter phrase. See Jones, "Title," 94; and Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 298. Textual variants in Acts 12:24 suggest that the Christians' god is meant, although cf. *ibid.*, 309. In Luke^B, the narrator refers to both God and Jesus as "the Lord."

⁷⁵ The phrase "the lord Jesus Christ" also appears in narration in other manuscripts at e.g., Acts 4:33; 6:8; 8:16; 11:20; 16:4; 18:8; 19:5.

suffer” (Acts^B 17:3), and was testifying to Jews in Corinth εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, “that the messiah was Jesus” (Acts^B 18:5).

In none of these instances does the narrator directly address his own audience. Rather, he reports what Christians say to non-Christian Jews.⁷⁶

This is not to suggest that the narrator’s speech patterns fit neatly into the sociolinguistic framework outlined for direct speech. In fact, one reference to “Christ” is especially noteworthy in this regard: in Acts^B 24, the narrator reports how Paul talks to Felix and Drusilla περὶ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν πίστεως, “about faith in Christ Jesus” (Acts^B 24:24). Even understood as a type of reported speech, this reference to “Christ” would occur in a different social context than those observed in dialogue: the governor Felix is a non-Christian gentile rather than a Jew.⁷⁷ Despite some differences, however, the narrator’s references to Jesus and the Christian god generally resemble speech patterns in inter-Christian dialogue, especially references to “the lord Jesus” and “the lord Jesus Christ,” and this suggests a primarily Christian implied audience.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Thus also a reference to “Jesus Christ” at Acts 9:27 in manuscripts Ψ pc and perhaps to “the messiah” at Acts 18:25 in P⁴¹. If the reference to “the messiah” at Acts 9:22 is attributed to the narrator, it functions similarly. This does not hold for all traditions of Acts, however, e.g., a reference to “the messiah” in manuscripts 1505 pc at Acts 5:41.

⁷⁷ In Acts^B 10, the narrator also reports how Peter orders Cornelius’ household to be baptized “in the name of Jesus Christ” (Acts^B 10:48). If this represents reported speech, Peter has Christian addressees, which would support a conclusion that “Jesus Christ” is not limited to outward-facing contexts (see above, pp. 62–63). One cannot argue that baptism “in the name of Jesus Christ” is the usual formula because the narrator otherwise refers to baptism “in the name of the lord Jesus” (Acts^B 8:16; 19:5). At Acts^B 10:48, other manuscripts read “Jesus,” “the Lord,” “the lord Jesus,” or “the lord Jesus Christ.”

⁷⁸ Other aspects of the narrator’s speech also suit a Christian implied audience: the narrator never refers to “Jesus of Nazareth,” and does make regular references to the Holy Spirit, just as Christian characters do amongst themselves. Regarding the implied audience of Acts, Tyson argues that the implied reader is most akin to a “Godfearer,” and that Luke–Acts can be read as an evangelistic text (Joseph B. Tyson, “Jews and Judaism in Luke–Acts: Reading as a Godfearer,” *New Testament Studies* 41 [1995]: 25, 38; Joseph B. Tyson, *Images of Judaism in Luke–Acts* [Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992], 19–41, 181–83). The current study suggests that the view of, e.g., Kurz, who argues for a Christian implied audience with some knowledge of the Greek Old Testament and Jewish issues (Kurz, *Reading Luke–Acts*, 13–16), is much more likely. Cf. Meierding, “Jews and Gentiles”; Witherington III, *Acts*, 63–65; Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 90; Philip F. Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke–Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 26, 44. A helpful discussion of some of the options is offered by Loveday Alexander, “The Acts of the Apostles as an Apologetic Text,” in *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the*

It also suggests a primarily Christian intended audience. As remarked in chapter 1, the implied and intended audiences of a work need not be the same, but in this particular case identical audiences are likely, for two reasons: first, because the tradition shows metalinguistic awareness by having characters speak differently in different social contexts; and secondly, because it may portray linguistic accommodation as being part of the apostles' rhetorical strategy insofar as Christians speak to non-Christian Jews in ways that resemble how non-Christian Jews themselves speak, and insofar as the apostles seem to "promote communicative efficiency" when speaking to non-Christian gentiles by modifying references to "god." The fact that the tradition has its Christian protagonists use different language in outward-facing settings than in inter-Christian dialogue makes it unlikely that the tradition itself would employ a different strategy, and a primarily Christian intended audience is therefore suggested by the linguistic variables examined in this chapter.

Conclusion

As the preceding section demonstrates, approaching ancient texts from a sociolinguistic perspective is not only intrinsically interesting, but also has the potential to inform questions of interpretation and literary technique. The most important implications of this thesis are not any particular interpretive results, however, but conceptual and methodological. Earlier in the chapter, examples were given of ways in which sociolinguistic relationships differ between manuscripts of Acts, a finding that affirms the importance not only of basing linguistic analysis on single manuscript traditions, but also of basing sociolinguistic claims on comparative speech data or other appropriate evidence.⁷⁹ The chapter's results also have implications for our understanding of the significance of expressions used in Acts^B and, it will be argued in chapter 5, other ancient texts. The fact that use of certain expressions co-varies with the Christian status and the

Acts of the Apostles (London: Continuum, 2007), 183–206. Note also the discussion of the implied audience of the Bezan tradition in Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 354.

⁷⁹ As an example of the need for caution in ascribing meaning to expressions, Churchill's recent suggestion that use of Jesus' name in the Damascus road accounts "characterizes Jesus as a human being" is creative, but unlikely (Timothy W. R. Churchill, *Divine Initiative and the Christology of the Damascus Road Encounter* [Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2010], 239). He does not take into account the many other contexts in which Jesus' name is used in the narrative.

gentile-Jewish identity of addressees suggests that there are not only referential or theological, but also social aspects to their “meaning,” factors that should be taken into account when discussing their significance. One of the things “Jesus of Nazareth” means in Acts^B, for instance, is “You’re not a member of my social group.”⁸⁰ Referring to “the lord Jesus” and probably also to Jesus as “the Lord,” meanwhile, seems to mark the Christian affiliation of speaker and addressee. The latter observation does rule out the possibility that giving Jesus the title “lord” is a way of honoring him, or that it implies some sort of “divine identity,” but it does raise the question of whether the “theological” significance of the expression is necessarily primary. The fact that this way of speaking has demonstrable social overtones raises the possibility that on occasion it may have been employed not in order to make a theological statement, but in the interests of depicting or establishing social solidarity.

The question now arises of whether the sorts of sociolinguistic dynamics explored in this chapter are a widespread phenomenon in ancient literature, such that one would need to take audience factors into account whenever discussing the significance of words, or whether these sorts of relationships are unique to the Acts of the Apostles because the composer of the latter narrative was particularly sensitive to sociolinguistic aspects of speech. The next chapter will show that the Acts of the Apostles is not unique in this regard, and that ways of speaking also co-vary with aspects of identity in the Acts of John. The particular linguistic relationships in the latter narrative differ, however, as do the literary features they bring to light.

⁸⁰ It does not seem to mean “the historical Jesus” or “the human Jesus” as in much contemporary parlance!

Chapter 3: Speech Patterns and Social Context in the *Acts of John*

We turn next to the Acts of John (AJ), a narrative about the apostle John probably originating in the second half of the second century CE, and originally composed in Greek.¹ In addition to providing further evidence for the overall conclusion of the thesis that social factors should be considered whenever the significance of word choice is discussed, this chapter offers other illustrations of the benefits of approaching ancient texts with awareness of how speech patterns may relate to social context. The chapter demonstrates how sociolinguistic variation in AJ contributes to the narrative's depiction of conversion as a process and to its characterization of John as an apostle who takes his calling seriously, as well as considering whether bystanders ever influence how John speaks and arguing that linguistic relationships call into question the common view that AJ was written for a non-Christian audience.

The Text

Let me first make a few introductory comments about the text.²

Manuscript Tradition

If the manuscript tradition of the Acts of the Apostles is complex, that of AJ is even more so. Unlike the Acts of the Apostles, no manuscript containing the full text of AJ is currently known. There is speculation as to what may have filled in gaps in the narrative, and as to what order the extant episodes may have had in the earliest tradition. Extant manuscripts, where they overlap, also attest numerous textual variants. The extent

¹ On the date of the text, see below, p. 89.

² Readers not familiar with the Acts of John may want to peruse a version in their own language before moving on. For English, I prefer Wilson's translation of Schäferdiek's German text, found in Wilhelm Schneemelcher and R. McL. Wilson, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha*, Rev. ed. (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1992). There is also an English translation in J. K. Elliott, ed., *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). French versions are available in François Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain, eds., *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens, I* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997); and Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*. For a brief introduction and plot summary, see Hans-Josef Klauck, *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction*, trans. Brian McNeil (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2008). Note, however, that these resources draw on multiple AJ traditions and therefore only give a general idea of the text on which this chapter is based.

of variation is such that Junod and Kaestli in their critical edition provide not only a reconstructed “primitive” Metastasis—the part of the narrative recounting John’s death—but also three other eclectic Greek versions based on subsets of the manuscript tradition. A glance at their critical apparatus also reveals variation at the word and phrase level in other episodes.³

Basing a linguistic study on an eclectic text of “the Acts of John” is clearly even less viable than for the Acts of the Apostles, and this chapter therefore examines a single AJ tradition, that of 14th century manuscripts *Patmos* 188 (R) and *Mezzojuso* 2 (Z). These manuscripts attest virtually identical texts of AJ.⁴

This particular AJ tradition has been selected not because RZ most faithfully represent the “primitive” AJ, but because they contain the most material.⁵ This is an important consideration for a study that compares how characters speak in various social contexts. The study does not require an enormous data set, since it is not arguing for statistical significance, but enough data is needed to establish plausibly that speech patterns do indeed co-vary with aspects of character identity. RZ provide enough material for the latter purpose. They include not only the account of John’s death known as the Metastasis, but also a number of other episodes. A rough outline of AJ^{RZ} is as follows:

³ For discussion of the manuscript tradition, see Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 1–107; Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 5–24. Regarding “gaps” in the narrative, there is debate about the original beginning of AJ, since chs. 1–17 of Bonnet’s edition are not considered primitive (ibid., 12–13), and about what originally belonged in a spot now called “chs. 56–57.” In the latter lacuna, Bonnet includes an episode about John and a partridge from *Par. gr.* 1468, while Junod and Kaestli prefer a story about the sons of Antipatros known from *Laura* Δ 50 and *Sin. gr.* 497. See Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 145–58; 25; Eric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, “Un fragment grec inédit des Actes de Jean: la guérison des fils d’Antipatros à Smyrne,” *Museum Helveticum* 31 (1974): 96–104; and cf. Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 13–14. Regarding the extent of variation in the AJ tradition, see Christine M. Thomas, “Stories Without Texts and Without Authors: The Problem of Fluidity in Ancient Novelistic Texts and Early Christian Literature,” in *Ancient Fiction and Early Christian Narrative*, ed. Ronald F. Hock, J. Bradley Chance, and Judith Perkins (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 273–91. She observes that other ancient “novelistic” texts have similarly complex textual histories.

⁴ The limited variation between them will be noted when relevant. For a description of the manuscripts, see Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 15–16. They conclude that since R and Z contain essentially the same text, they probably depend on the same model.

⁵ Junod and Kaestli suggest that other manuscripts are better indicators of the “primitive” text (ibid., 18–23).

- Introduction/Transition (AJ^{RZ} 18)
- Conversion of Cleopatra and Lycomedes (AJ^{RZ} 19–29)
- Healing at the Ephesian Theatre (AJ^{RZ} 30–36)
- Conversion at the Temple of Artemis (AJ^{RZ} 37–47)
- The Parricide (AJ^{RZ} 48–54)
- Summons from Smyrna (AJ^{RZ} 55)
- Story of the Bedbugs (AJ^{RZ} 58–62)
- Callimachus and Drusiana (AJ^{RZ} 63–86)
- John's Death, aka the Metastasis (AJ^{RZ} 106–115)

Readers will note that AJ^{RZ} consists of chapters currently labeled 18–55, 58–86, and 106–115. The numbering is not original, but derives from Bonnet's 1898 edition.⁶ This numbering is traditionally retained even when chapters have been omitted or rearranged, and does not indicate any deficiency in RZ as manuscripts. In fact, the above episodes are presented in both *Patmos* 188 and *Mezzojuso* 2 as connected narratives, constituting the fullest representation of AJ currently known.

It may also be interesting for readers to know that RZ include other stories about John. In both manuscripts, the episodes considered to derive from AJ follow without transition after a text of a fifth century work now known as the *Acts of John by Prochorus* (AJPr). In *Patmos* 188, a scene from the latter work has also been inserted after the Metastasis. In the future, it would be interesting to extend the current linguistic analysis to include the latter narratives.⁷

Finally, it is worth mentioning the other Greek manuscripts. We currently have a number of Greek manuscripts that attest only the Metastasis. Other manuscripts include additional episodes, but always fewer or in a more fragmented state than RZ. Four are especially valuable. *Halki* 102 (H), a partially legible palimpsest with 11th century underwriting, includes AJ 18–55, 58–86, and a form of the Metastasis.⁸ Tenth century *Ochrida* 4 (O) includes a form of the Metastasis and AJ 58–81.⁹ Twelfth or thirteenth

⁶ Maximilianus Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, II, 1 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1972).

⁷ On the incorporation of portions of AJ into later narratives, see Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 2–12.

⁸ See *ibid.*, 13. H includes stories from a work now known as the *Acts of John at Rome* (AJR), followed by AJ 106–115, a text of AJPr, and then AJ 18–55, 58–86.

⁹ The succeeding folios are lost. As in H, the Metastasis in O comes after stories from AJR. It is followed by portions of AJPr and finally AJ 58–81.20. See *ibid.*, 17.

century *Venet. Marc. gr.* 363 (M) includes part of AJ 58–80.¹⁰ Finally, representing a different section of AJ entirely, *Vindob. hist. gr.* 63 (C) attests to AJ 87–105, an episode not included in RZ or in any of the other manuscripts mentioned above.¹¹ The latter material is considered part of the AJ tradition because when the Second Nicaean Council of 787 CE condemned the Acts of John, citations were given both from this section (AJ^{RZ} 93–95, 97–98) and from the story of Cleopatra and Lycomedes (AJ^{RZ} 27–28).¹²

In summary, RZ attest the most comprehensive and coherent form of AJ, and their tradition has been chosen for linguistic analysis on that basis. As in the preceding chapter, any conclusions drawn in this chapter are only argued to pertain to the RZ form of the text, and the importance of basing analysis on a single manuscript tradition will be demonstrated in an excursus comparing sociolinguistic relationships in the various manuscripts later in the chapter.

Earliest Versions of AJ

While the fluidity of the manuscript tradition makes questions regarding the date and provenance of the earliest versions of AJ in some sense immaterial to the current project, these are nevertheless interesting questions and worth a brief comment here. As to authorship, some late traditions associate AJ with an author named Leucius, but as

¹⁰ In M, these stories come after portions of AJPr. M contains only a summary of the Metastasis. See *ibid.*, 18.

¹¹ This manuscript is dated 1319 or 1324 CE (see István Czachesz, “The Gospel of the Acts of John: Its Relation to the Fourth Gospel,” in *Legacy of John: Second Century Reception of the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Tuomas Rasimus [Leiden: Brill, 2010], 49; and Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 26–29). An additional Greek witness of sorts may be provided by the fragmentary 4th c. Papyrus Kellis 1, which seems to relate to AJ 84–85; 106; and 109. See Geoffrey Jenkins, “Papyrus 1 from Kellis. A Greek Text with Affinities to the Acts of John,” in *The Apocryphal Acts of John*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995), 197–216.

¹² For the judgment of the Second Council of Nicaea, see *The Seventh General Council*, trans. John Mendham (London: W.E. Painter, 1850), 269–71. Junod and Kaestli include a critical edition of the relevant citations at *Acta Iohannis*, 344–68. They discuss the Council’s decision in Eric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, *L’histoire des actes apocryphes des apôtres du IIIe au IXe siècle: le cas des Actes de Jean* (Geneva: Revue de théologie et de philosophie, 1982), 119–26. It would be interesting to investigate the extent of divergence of AJ^C and AJ^{RZ(H)} based on overlapping passages from C, RZ(H), and Nicaea II.

commentators have regularly observed, this is unlikely to be accurate.¹³ Regarding the date, the earliest concrete reference to AJ as a text is found in Eusebius' *Church History*,¹⁴ but knowledge of the tradition is probably indicated by references to the Drusiana story in the Manichaean Psalter composed in the late third century.¹⁵ At what point before this *terminus ad quem* the earliest written version of AJ was composed is a matter of debate, with discussion largely centering on two issues: how AJ's theological positions compare with those of other known writings, and at what point John's activities and death in Ephesus begin to be mentioned in other texts. Since the latter tradition is primarily attested in the second half of the second century, both Knut Schäferdiek and Junod and Kaestli opt for a date no earlier than this. Schäferdiek suggests the first half of the third century,¹⁶ while Junod and Kaestli prefer a date in the second half of the second century. The latter base their conclusion on factors such as the fact that AJ's "singular" christology is presented in a relatively non-polemical manner; that AJ has strikingly few Scriptural references, ecclesiastical rites, or references to institutions; and that Clement of Alexandria draws on similar traditions about John.¹⁷ Pieter Lalleman argues that AJ's christology reflects an earlier time period and that traditions connecting John and Ephesus existed from the beginning of the second

¹³ See, e.g., Junod and Kaestli, *Histoire*, 137–43; Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 67–68; Knut Schäferdiek, "Herkunft und Interesse der alten Johannesakten," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 74 (1983): 261–63.

¹⁴ Eusebius, *Church History* III.25.1–7 (early fourth century); see Junod and Kaestli, *Histoire*, 9–10; Knut Schäferdiek, "Johannesakten," in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, vol. 2, 5. Aufl. (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1989), 140.

¹⁵ Junod and Kaestli, *Histoire*, 40, 50–56; Schäferdiek, "Johannesakten," 139.

¹⁶ Schäferdiek, "Herkunft," 263; Schäferdiek, "Johannesakten," 155.

¹⁷ Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 694–700; Eric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, "Le dossier des Actes de Jean: état de la question et perspectives nouvelles," in *Principat 25,6* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 4353–54; Eric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, "Les traits caractéristiques de la théologie des 'Actes de Jean'," *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* 26 (1976): 144. Also assigning AJ to the second century are István Czachesz, "Eroticism and Epistemology in the Apocryphal Acts of John," *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 60 (2006): 72; Jan N. Bremmer, "The Apocryphal Acts: Authors, Place, Time and Readership," in *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 153; Eckhard Plümacher, "Apostolische Missionsreise und statthalterliche Assisetour: Eine Interpretation von Acta Iohannis c. 37.45 und 55," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 85 (1994): 273; Richard Adelbert Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden: Ein Beitrag zur altchristlichen Literaturgeschichte* (Braunschweig: C.A. Schwetschke, 1883), 4; Klauck, *Apocryphal Acts*, 18; Elliott, *Apocryphal NT*, 306.

century. He proposes a date in the second quarter of the second century for the earliest version of the text.¹⁸

The provenance of the work is even more difficult to determine. Schäferdiek has drawn on resemblances with the Acts of Thomas and the use of AJ in the Manichaen Psalter to suggest that the work originated in Syria.¹⁹ Junod and Kaestli have suggested that the motif of polymorphy, the use of traditions also found in Clement of Alexandria, and several instances of the substantive δῖκρόσσιον, which they argue was a garment only worn in Egypt and the surrounding regions, make an Egyptian provenance more probable. They argue against an Ephesian origin—a provenance that might suggest itself on the grounds that most of the action in the extant text takes place in Ephesus—because the tradition seems to be ignorant of the majestic proportions of the temple of Artemis (cf. AJ 44.1–2) and of Ephesian geography—the text mentions John’s “going up” to the temple of Artemis, which was not located on a hill (AJ 38.3).²⁰ Although Engelmann has responded to the latter concerns by arguing that the term ἄνειμι could mean “go inland” and that AJ’s depiction of Ephesus is acceptable in other ways,²¹ an Ephesian provenance for AJ is generally considered unlikely. Lalleman, who critiques arguments for both Egypt and Syria, builds on the work of Plümacher to suggest that the text originated in Asia Minor in Smyrna or another rival city of Ephesus, and makes the interesting observation that if the author were from a rival city, it could explain why he feels free to describe the destruction of the Artemis temple in an era when the latter building was still standing.²²

Although pinpointing the date and provenance of the earliest version of AJ with greater certainty would be intrinsically interesting, the extent of variation between the extant

¹⁸ Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 268–70. His dating allows time for AJ to have influenced the Acts of Peter and other texts.

¹⁹ Schäferdiek, “Herkunft,” 255; cf. Schäferdiek, “Johannesakten,” 154–55.

²⁰ Junod and Kaestli, “Le dossier des Actes de Jean,” 4353–54; Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 689–94.

²¹ Helmut Engelmann, “Ephesos und die Johannesakten,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 103 (1994): 297–302.

²² The depiction would be polemical. See Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 256–66; cf. Plümacher, “Apostolische Missionsreise.” More recently, Bremmer has drawn on inscriptional data to argue against both Ephesus and Smyrna (Bremmer, “The Apocryphal Acts: Authors, Place, Time and Readership,” 158–59).

manuscripts renders such an endeavor unnecessary for current purposes, since it makes accurate reconstruction of an “original” composition virtually impossible and thus rules out the possibility of claiming that RZ or another manuscript necessarily reflect a second or third century linguistic style. In order to address date-related questions such as whether sociolinguistic differences between AJ and the Acts of the Apostles represent historical linguistic development—which is the real reason the date of composition would be of sociolinguistic interest—one would also have to determine which sections of the reconstructed text were included in the earliest version of the narrative. Most commentators consider at least AJ 94–102 to be an interpolation, Junod and Kaestli argue the same for AJ 109,²³ and Czachesz has recently suggested that John’s speeches in AJ 88–105 and 113–114 were probably added to AJ at the beginning of the third century.²⁴ Because AJ 87–105 do not appear in manuscripts RZ, the question of their “gnostic” character, which has been amply debated in the literature, is not pressing for the current study,²⁵ but the suggestions that sections of the Metastasis are secondary are more relevant. They serve as a reminder that AJ^{RZ} does not represent an “original” form of a static text, but rather a snapshot of an evolving textual tradition whose various extant manifestations cannot be assumed to attest the same sociolinguistic tendencies.

Structure of the Chapter

This chapter is structured differently than that on the Acts of the Apostles due to differences between the narratives. This chapter does not discuss “non-Christian Jews,” because “Jews” are never mentioned in AJ^{RZ}. All non-Christian characters in AJ^{RZ} appear

²³ Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 425, 581–89; Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 12; but see Schäferdiek, “Johannesakten,” 152; =Schneemelcher and Wilson, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 164.

²⁴ He argues that they show neo-Platonic influence and were added in Alexandria. See Czachesz, “Eroticism,” 71–72.

²⁵ On possibly “gnostic” or “docetic” elements in this section, see, e.g., Paul G. Schneider, “A Perfect Fit: The Major Interpolation in the Acts of John,” *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 30 (1991): 524–32; Gerard P. Luttikhuisen, “A Gnostic Reading of the Acts of John,” in *The Apocryphal Acts of John*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995), 119–52; Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 30–39; Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 589–632.

to be gentiles, and the Jewish and/or gentile background of Christian characters is never commented upon.²⁶

Drawing its clues from the narrative, the chapter also makes no attempt to distinguish between “Jesus” and “God.” In AJ^{RZ}, John uses the name of Jesus and the term θεός, “god,” interchangeably in prayer (e.g., AJ^{RZ} 43.2–3),²⁷ and the one Trinitarian doxology feels out of place (AJ^{RZ} 109.20).²⁸ Due to narrative ambiguity on matters of christology, this chapter will most often speak simply of “Jesus/God,” which should be read as “Jesus and/or John’s god, however those concepts may relate.”²⁹

Finally, this chapter differs from that on the Acts of the Apostles by examining how speech patterns shift over the course of two individual episodes before analyzing variation across the narrative as a whole. These two conversion narratives provide controlled examples of sociolinguistic variation: we will see that the apostle John addresses the same characters in different ways as they progress through the conversion process.

The chapter is structured as follows: It begins with a brief exploration of the dynamics of Christian identity. This exploration provides background for sociolinguistic analysis, clarifies how “Christian” and “non-Christian” characters are classified, and highlights

²⁶ The only AJ tradition to mention “Jews” is AJ^C, which includes one such reference (AJ^C 94.2). AJ^C also includes a reference to “Pharisees” (AJ^C 93.5). The episode does not appear in AJ^{RZ} at all. On the absence of Jews, see Junod and Kaestli, “Les traits,” 128–29.

²⁷ Line numbers in the current chapter follow Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*.

²⁸ The doxology is lacking in many other manuscripts and versions and is undoubtedly not primitive. In fact, Junod and Kaestli argue that the bulk of AJ 109 was not part of the earliest AJ tradition. See *ibid.*, 425, 586–89. Apart from the doxology at AJ^{RZ} 109.20, there is only one possible mention of Holy Spirit in AJ^{RZ} (AJ^{RZ} 46.8). As Lalleman has remarked, however, this need not be understood as a reference to the Holy Spirit as such (Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 168 n. 73). AJ^{RZ} 86.4 probably does not refer to the Holy Spirit, despite the abbreviation πνι.

²⁹ AJ’s tendency not to distinguish between “Jesus” and “God” has been observed by e.g., Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 167–68; Schäferdiek, “Herkunft,” 266–67; Junod and Kaestli, “Les traits,” 138–39. Cf. Photius *Bibliotheca* 114; Theodor Zahn, “Die Wanderungen des Apostels Johannes,” *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 10 (1899): 205–208; Gerlinde Sirker-Wicklaus, *Untersuchungen zu den Johannes-Akten: Untersuchungen zur Struktur, zur theologischen Tendenz und zum kirchengeschichtlichen Hintergrund der Acta Iohannis* (Witterschlick/Bonn: Wehle, 1988), 220–21; Paul G. Schneider, *The Mystery of the Acts of John: An Interpretation of the Hymn and the Dance in Light of the Acts’ Theology* (San Francisco: Mellen University Press, 1991), 57, 68, 162.

certain literary themes. Following a reading of the aforementioned conversion narratives, the chapter then surveys all third-person references to Jesus/God, concentrating first on those spoken by John. References addressed to present living humans are discussed separately from those that are not. The chapter concludes with an analysis of forms of address, and with illustrations of how attention to linguistic relationships informs interpretation of the text.

Dynamics of Christian Identity

Let us now consider dynamics of Christian identity in AJ^{RZ}. First of all, it is worth noting that this narrative gives less attention to communal aspects of Christian life than the Acts of the Apostles, focusing primarily on the words and actions of the apostle John.³⁰ It is still possible to ask sociolinguistic questions, however, because a social aspect to Christian life is implicit in the text. The narrative portrays John as travelling with a group of “brothers,” who are sometimes depicted as ministry assistants. There are also instances of corporate prayer (e.g., AJ 27.7) and gatherings where John teaches and offers “the eucharist” (AJ^{RZ} 46.6; 86.2; 110.1–2; cf. 84.16).³¹ The narrative thus operates with the implicit understanding that there is a social aspect to Christian identity.

Christian identity in AJ^{RZ} is also subject to boundaries. The most consistently cited boundary marker in AJ^{RZ} is “belief.” John mentions “faith” and “believing” in contexts that suggest it is an essential Christian trait, a necessary condition for Christian identity (e.g., AJ^{RZ} 23.16; 29.5–6; 46.9). He tells the priest of Artemis, for instance, πίστευσον καὶ ζήσεις εἰς ἅπαντας αἰῶνας, “Believe and you will live forever” (AJ^{RZ} 47.12–13).³² His statement implies that “belief” is necessary for eternal life. It also suggests that “belief” distinguishes Christians from wider society, a depiction reinforced by John’s characterization of opponents and other individuals as “unbelieving” (e.g., AJ^{RZ} 23.7; 33.7, 10; 39.14), and his use of τοῖς πιστοῖς, “the faithful,” τὸν πιστὸν ἄνθρωπον, “the faithful person,” and τοὺς πεπιστευκότας, “those having believed” as substantives (AJ^{RZ}

³⁰ Cf. Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 120.

³¹ All characters referred to by the narrator as “brothers” are portrayed as Christians. See below, p. 96.

³² All translations are mine.

30.11; 69.1; 109.18). Furthermore, “belief” is associated with the process of conversion by the narrator (AJ^{RZ} 26.11; 52.12; 79.2; 83.6), by a heavenly voice (AJ^{RZ} 18.10), and by a young man named Callimachus. The latter tells John that he was formerly ἄπιστος, “unbelieving” and ἄθεος, “without God,” but is now ὁ μέλλων πιστός, ὁ μέλλων θεοσεβής, “one going to believe, going to be devout” (AJ^{RZ} 76.38–39). In the latter statement, Callimachus explicitly associates Christian conversion with “belief.”³³

Another boundary marker in AJ^{RZ} is monolatry. In the episode of the temple of Artemis, the decision to stop worshipping other gods is clearly associated with becoming a Christian. At one point in the episode, Ephesian crowds cry out, τὸν Ἰωάννου θεὸν μόνον οἶδαμεν, ὃν καὶ λοιπὸν προσκυνοῦμεν, “We know only John’s god, and from now on we worship only him” (AJ^{RZ} 44.2–3). The decision of these former devotees of Artemis not to worship other gods clearly marks a change in practice for them, and coincides with other signs that they are beginning to identify themselves as Christians. Monolatry, like “belief,” can be said to mark a boundary. It may not be sufficient for full Christian status, but it is necessary: individuals who lack this trait in AJ^{RZ} are characterized as “outside” the Christian fold.³⁴

While unbelief and worship of other gods consistently mark individuals as non-Christians in AJ^{RZ}, the boundaries of Christian identity are somewhat fuzzy in other ways. Most importantly, AJ^{RZ} does not portray conversion as a one-time decision or an instantaneous change, but as a process, with instruction—and John’s presence—required to strengthen the faith of new converts and to confirm their “hope in God.”³⁵ The need to be “established” is mentioned in the Artemis temple episode, for instance. After the Ephesians publicly commit to monolatry, they beg John to stay with them (AJ^{RZ} 44), and

³³ The term ἐπιστρέφω, “convert,” appears in reference to Christian identification a number of times in AJ^{RZ} (AJ^{RZ} 22.14; 30.16–17; 33.6–7; 36.10; 40.7; 42.8; 45.4; 46.13–14; 79.18–19; 85.3).

³⁴ Monolatry is not a key concern in other episodes, suggesting that it was not a live issue among those for whom the work was written.

³⁵ On these themes, see Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 434–38. “Hope” as a descriptor of Christian status is mentioned at AJ^{RZ} 22.19; 23.8; 25.5–6; 44.8; 55.7; 76.36; 84.10; 109.12; cf. 65.3. On the importance of the apostle’s presence for converts, see Stevan L. Davies, *The Revolt of the Widows: The Social World of the Apocryphal Acts* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), 46–49, and AJ^{RZ} 25, 44, 58–59; cf. 47.14; 54.14–15; 62. On the depiction of conversion in the narrative, cf. Eugene V. Gallagher, “Conversion and Community in Late Antiquity,” *Journal of Religion* 73 (1993): 3–7, 13–15.

he agrees. He tells them that he has been sticking around in Ephesus in order to “establish” them, a process that has begun and is still continuing (AJ^{RZ} 45).³⁶ A similar exchange also occurs in another conversion narrative. A man named Lycomedes, recently raised from the dead, tells John, “If you do not stay with us, we will have no hope in your god” (AJ^{RZ} 25.5–7). Rather than representing a deficient understanding of salvation, his desire to spend time with John is immediately affirmed by the “brothers” accompanying the apostle. They urge John, “Let us stay with them so that they may remain free from stumbling before the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 25.10). Evidently, becoming Christian for this tradition requires more than a single moment of “belief,” and it also seems that the “fuzzy” boundaries of Christian identity extend beyond the initial conversion process. The possibility is left open that even established Christians could fall away. In one scene, a “brother” named Andronicus tells John, “I am not at all doubting my faith in God” (AJ^{RZ} 65.6–7). Andronicus’ statement suggests that one can forfeit Christian status, and the need for Christians to persevere in faith is also mentioned in other scenes.³⁷ We will consider each of these episodes in more detail later on. For now suffice it to say that Christian identity in AJ^{RZ} is portrayed less as a discrete identity, instantaneously acquired, and more as a process of identification that initially takes time and that continues subsequently throughout a person’s life.

At first glance, the narrative’s perspective on Christian identification would seem to present a challenge for sociolinguistic analysis. Although no characters actually fall away from faith in AJ^{RZ}, there are several protracted conversion narratives whose dynamics make it impossible for an analyst simply to divide up characters into discrete “Christian” and “non-Christian” categories. Although these terms can be ascribed to some characters with confidence—it is safe to say that John is a “Christian” throughout the narrative, for instance, and that characters who worship other gods or lack “belief” are not—it is much more difficult to assign a precise Christian status to converting characters. Forcing converting characters into discrete “Christian” and “non-Christian” categories would

³⁶ The term (ἐπι-)στηρίζω appears at AJ^{RZ} 45.7; 58.6; 79.15–16; 106.11; cf. 87.3–4.

³⁷ On the theme of Christians’ need to persevere, see Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 436, 529, and AJ^{RZ} 58, 67–69, 107. Note uses of the root ῥαθυμ-, “sluggish” at AJ^{RZ} 58.4; 61.15–16; 68.6; 69.20; 72.7.

also obscure a theme in AJ^{RZ}, that of conversion as a process. Although I will use the terms “Christian” and “non-Christian” in this chapter, therefore, I do so tentatively, and with awareness of the ongoing aspects of Christian identification as portrayed in the narrative. Furthermore, we will see that allowing for nuance in categorizing characters also bears sociolinguistic fruit: it turns out that in AJ^{RZ} the fuzziness of Christian boundaries is also mirrored linguistically.

Before moving on to the linguistic data, a few final observations are worth making in this section. First, it is interesting to note that some prominent markers of Christian identity in the Acts of the Apostles, such as baptism and the filling of the Holy Spirit, have no role in AJ^{RZ}. “Holy washing” is mentioned once (AJ^{RZ} 84.15), but not in the context of a conversion narrative.³⁸ Secondly, it is worth observing that all characters referred to by the narrator as ἀδελφοί, “brothers,” are clearly Christians. Some travel with and/or assist John (AJ^{RZ} 19.15–16; 25.10; 30.1; 37.1; 48.3; 54.1–2; 61.4), and others may be part of local Christian communities (cf. AJ^{RZ} 46.6; 58.2, 8; 59.2; 62.1–2; 66.4; 70.2; 72.2; 73.13; 79.2; 83.6; 86.2, 3; 106.1, 2–3; 110.1–2; 111.3). “Brothers” also denote Christians in direct speech (AJ^{RZ} 18.9; 27.7; 74.4–5; 82.8), with only one possible exception, when John refers to “persecuting the brothers” of Jesus/God (AJ^{RZ} 81.15–16). The latter instance does not detract from the use of the term to refer to Christian characters elsewhere, however, and the referential term “brothers” is therefore a useful indicator of the Christian status of certain groups.³⁹

Conversion of Cleopatra and Lycomedes (AJ^{RZ} 19–29)

Turning now to the text, the first stage of linguistic analysis will be to examine how speech patterns shift diachronically over the course of two individual episodes. We begin with the first full episode of AJ^{RZ}, which recounts the conversion and establishing in faith of Cleopatra and Lycomedes. Linguistic variables to be considered include

³⁸ Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 120. Cf. Junod and Kaestli, “Les traits,” 132–34.

³⁹ Not all boundary markers in AJ^{RZ} have been discussed in this section, only those most immediately relevant to the current project. Attitudes to wealth and “purity” are also associated with Christian identity in the narrative. On AJ^{RZ} 74.4–5, see below, p. 115. On use of “brothers” as a form of address, see below, pp. 131–32.

substantive references to Jesus/God, and both singular and plural forms of address.⁴⁰ We will see that the episode depicts John as speaking of Jesus/God in different ways and as using different forms of address at different points of his addressees' conversion process.⁴¹

At the beginning of the episode, a man named Lycomedes meets John for the first time. At this point in the episode, he has not yet heard the apostle's message, and shows no signs of being a Christian. He is, in short, a non-Christian character. Observe how he speaks to John of Jesus/God:

- ὁ θεὸς ὃν κηρύσσεις, “the god whom you proclaim” (AJ^{RZ} 19.4)
- σου τὸν θεόν, “your god” (AJ^{RZ} 19.6) and
- τοῦ φανερώσαντός μοι [Z: με] θεοῦ σαυτὸν [sic], “the god who revealed you to me” (AJ^{RZ} 19.13–14).⁴²

All of Lycomedes' references to Jesus/God employ the term θεός, “god” in a modified form.

Interestingly, John himself refers to Jesus/God in similar ways at the beginning of the episode. Besides one reference to “the Lord,” which will be discussed later, John only refers to Jesus/God as “the one who appeared to you” or using the term “god” in a modified form. When Lycomedes asks John to heal his wife Cleopatra, for instance, John tells him not to doubt τῷ θεωμένῳ σοι, “the one who appeared to you” (AJ^{RZ} 21.4–5), then urges him, ἔπευξαι τῷ θεῷ ὃν εἶδες φανεροῦντά σε δι' ὄνειράτων, “Pray to the god whom you saw revealing [himself to you] in dreams” (AJ^{RZ} 21.6–7).⁴³ John's latter reference to “the god whom you saw revealing” parallels Lycomedes' earlier reference to “the god who revealed you.”

⁴⁰ For a definition of “Jesus/God,” see above, p. 92.

⁴¹ For general commentary on the episode, see Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 438–56; János Bolyki, “Miracle Stories in the Acts of John,” in *The Apocryphal Acts of John*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995), 17–19; Jan N. Bremmer, “Women in the Apocryphal Acts of John,” in *The Apocryphal Acts of John*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995), 38–41; Sirker-Wicklaus, *Untersuchungen*, 37–48.

⁴² R μοι, Z με; RZ σαυτόν, which Junod and Kaestli emend to σὲ αὐτόν.

⁴³ Junod and Kaestli read σὲ as με.

John also uses modified “god” phrases when he addresses Cleopatra. After her agitated husband collapses, John resuscitates Cleopatra and tells her that she will get her husband back,

εἴ γε μὴ ταρασσοῖς μηδὲ κινῆς ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι, πιστεύσασα ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ μου,
ὅστις δι’ ἐμοῦ ζῶντα αὐτὸν χαρίσεται.

if you are not agitated or disturbed by what has happened, having believed in my god, who will grant him to you alive through me. (AJ^{RZ} 23.15–17)

He then invites her to watch her husband being raised τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ μου δυνάμει, “by the power of my god” (AJ^{RZ} 23.19). Note how John refers to Jesus/God in both instances as “my god,” and how he makes emotional restraint a corollary to “belief.”⁴⁴

Emotional restraint is also associated with Christian identity in the next scene. When Cleopatra sees her dead husband, she grieves, but silently, and John commends her self-restraint (AJ^{RZ} 24). John then instructs her to raise Lycomedes herself with the words, ἀναστὰς δόξασον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ὄνομα, “Arise and glorify the name of God” (AJ^{RZ} 24.18). This is the first unmodified reference to “God” in AJ^{RZ}, and it is interesting that it occurs only after Cleopatra has demonstrated what John seems to consider a marker of Christian identity, one that can be added to the list of those discussed above.

On a methodological note, it should be emphasized that one cannot yet conclude that unmodified references to “God” are “Christian insider language” limited to inter-Christian dialogue. John is not directly addressing Cleopatra when he mentions “God”; he is instructing her what to say, and his words may therefore reflect more on her as a speaker than as an addressee. To further complicate matters, the imagined addressee is dead. Similarly, we do not yet know if John only uses modified “god” phrases when

⁴⁴ Cf. AJ^{RZ} 21, 54, 65–66; 76–78. Lalleman comments, “A major quality of the new life of the believers is the stability of their souls, a point eminently illustrated by Cleopatra” (Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 165). On this theme, see also Paul G. Schneider, “The Acts of John: The Gnostic Transformation of a Christian Community,” in *Hellenization Revisited: Shaping a Christian Response Within the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Wendy E. Helleman (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994), 243–45; Schneider, *Mystery*, 32–34, 124–27; Bremmer, “Women,” 41; Stevan L. Davies, *The Revolt of the Widows: The Social World of the Apocryphal Acts* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), 56–57; Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 446.

addressing non-Christian characters, or if he would perhaps also speak to Christians that way. We will only be able to affirm a certain sociolinguistic significance for these expressions if it can be established that they correlate meaningfully with social context, if it can be shown that in other contexts John speaks in different ways. I mention this because it can be tempting to leap to conclusions about the social significance of words in ancient narratives. Without adequate evidence, however, linguistic “hunches” remain unsubstantiated hypotheses.

It is also important to keep in mind that expressions may not have the same connotations in AJ^{RZ} as they do in Acts^B, since texts composed by different authors, years apart, are unlikely to use words in the exact same ways. Indeed, differences in how AJ^{RZ} and Acts^B use the term “god” are already apparent. In Acts^B, characters tend to modify the term “god” only the first time it is used in any given scene. John and Lycomedes, on the other hand, seem to be modifying the term almost every time they use it.⁴⁵

They continue to do this as the episode progresses. After Lycomedes is raised, John speaks to him of τοῦ θεοῦ οὗ δυνάμει ἀνέστητε ἀμφότεροι, “the god by whose power you have both risen” (AJ^{RZ} 24.23), and Lycomedes speaks in a parallel fashion of οὗ ὀνόματι ἡγείρας ἡμᾶς θεοῦ, “the god in whose name you raised us” (AJ^{RZ} 25.2). Lycomedes then urges John to stay with them, lest ἐλπίς ἡμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ θεῷ σου, “we have no hope in your god” (AJ^{RZ} 25.6). It is interesting that although Lycomedes is clearly prepared to accept both John and his god at this point, he still uses the modified expression “your god.”

Modified references to “god” are not the only way that characters refer to Jesus/God in the episode, however. After John begins teaching and praying at Lycomedes’ house, he starts to refer to Jesus/God in different ways, and also uses new forms of address. Until this point in the episode, John has addressed Lycomedes and Cleopatra primarily by name (AJ^{RZ} 21.7; 23.13; 24.15–16), and has once called Lycomedes ἄνθρωπε, “man” (AJ^{RZ} 24.22). Only after John begins teaching and praying with Lycomedes does he use what would appear to be a more intimate form of address, calling him ἀγαπητόν μου

⁴⁵ On use of θεός, “god” in Acts^B, see above, pp. 44–51.

τέκνον, “my beloved child” (AJ^{RZ} 27.5). As we will see, this form of address seems to correlate with an establishing of Lycomedes’ Christian identity.⁴⁶

No sooner has John called Lycomedes his “beloved child,” however, than he begins to doubt the latter’s Christian commitment. Entering Lycomedes’ bedroom and seeing a portrait set up as an object of worship, he asks, τὸν θεὸν σου τίς τυγχάνει ὁ γεγραμμένος, “Which god of yours is painted here?” (AJ^{RZ} 27.12).⁴⁷ He adds that Lycomedes is still ἐθνικῶς ζῶντα, “living like a pagan” (AJ^{RZ} 27.13). John seems to be questioning Lycomedes’ Christian status as defined by monolatry, and it is interesting that in this context he again addresses Lycomedes by name (AJ^{RZ} 27.11).

John seems to have underestimated Lycomedes’ Christian commitment, however. The latter replies:

ὁ θεὸς μὲν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐγείρας με ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου... εἰ δὲ γε καὶ μετὰ τὸν θεὸν ἐκείνον τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπους θεοὺς δεῖ καλεῖσθαι, σὺ εἶ πάτερ ὁ ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι γεγραμμένος μοι.

God is that one who has raised me from death... But if after that god those people who are our benefactors must also be called gods, you, father, are the one painted for me in the portrait. (AJ^{RZ} 27.14–16)

Perhaps John is partially mollified by this response, because in his reply he again addresses Lycomedes as τέκνον, “child” (AJ^{RZ} 28.2), even while asking for proof of Lycomedes’ assertion. Seeing himself in a mirror for the first time, John then announces that the portrait is indeed apt, exclaiming, ζῇ κύριος μου Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, “As my lord Jesus Christ lives!” (AJ^{RZ} 28.5–6). The significance of “my” in the latter phrase will be discussed below.⁴⁸ For now, note that this is the first time John has mentioned Jesus’ name in the presence of Lycomedes, and that from this point in the episode, he begins to refer to Jesus/God in different ways.⁴⁹ Never again does he make modified references to

⁴⁶ See below, pp. 133–34.

⁴⁷ The first three words could also be interpreted as an oath: “By your god, who is the one painted here?” See below, n. 49.

⁴⁸ See below, p. 115.

⁴⁹ In the Nicaean traditions, John seems more hesitant to affirm Lycomedes’ Christian status. He accompanies his request for proof with the oath τὸν κύριόν σου, “your lord” (AJ 28.3) (lacking in

“my god” or “the god whom you saw revealing.” Instead, he refers to “God” in an unmodified form and uses Jesus’ name. He speaks to Lycomedes of:

- ὁ ἑαυτῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς ζωγραφῶν Ἰησοῦς..., “Jesus who paints us all for himself...” (AJ^{RZ} 29.2–3)
- πίστις ἡ εἰς θεόν, “faith in God” (AJ^{RZ} 29.5–6) and
- τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, “our lord Jesus Christ” (AJ^{RZ} 29.17).

These ways of referring to Jesus/God differ from how John spoke earlier in the episode, and other speech patterns also seem to have evolved along with Lycomedes’ Christian status. John again addresses Lycomedes as τέκνον, “child” in the final scene (AJ^{RZ} 28.6–7), as well as by name (AJ^{RZ} 29.1), and employs first person plurals that appear to include Lycomedes (AJ^{RZ} 29.2, 4, 17; cf. 21.6).

As we will see, similar types of variation occur in later episodes. When John addresses non-Christians, he primarily refers to Jesus/God using modified “god” phrases, and first person plurals are extremely rare. Addressing established Christians, on the other hand, John uses “lord” and first person plurals more frequently, and more often makes unmodified references to “God.” Attention to the relationship between speech patterns and social context thus highlights the existence of Christian boundaries.

Before surveying John’s speech patterns across the narrative, however, let us first consider diachronic variation in a second conversion narrative.

Conversion at the Temple of Artemis (AJ^{RZ} 37–47)

In the Artemis temple episode, John’s speech patterns once again evolve in parallel with the Christian status of his addressees. By the end of the chapter, we will also have seen that sociolinguistic variation in this episode contributes even more than in the story of

RZ), contrasting his more affirming response after seeing himself in a mirror, ζῆ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, “as lord Jesus Christ lives.” RZ include μου, “my,” in the latter phrase.

Cleopatra and Lycomedes to the narrative's depiction of conversion as a process, an important literary theme.⁵⁰

Let us look in detail at the linguistic data. At the beginning of the episode, a group of Ephesians have gathered at the temple of Artemis. These Ephesians show no signs of Christian identity, and it is interesting in that context that all of John's references to Jesus/God take the form of modified "god" phrases. To a group intent on killing him, he speaks of τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ, "the only god" (AJ^{RZ} 38.5).⁵¹ Addressing the whole crowd, he then says:

πάντες ὑμεῖς θεὰν εἶναι λέγετε ἔχειν τὴν Ἄρτεμιν· εὐξασθε ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἵνα ἐγὼ μόνος ἀποθάνω· ἢ μόνος ἐγώ, μὴ δυναμένων ὑμῶν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, τὸν ἰδίόν μου θεὸν ἐπικαλεσάμενος διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ὑμῶν πάντας ὑμᾶς θανατώσω.

You all say that you have Artemis as a goddess. Pray to her that I alone may die, or, if you cannot do so, I alone, calling upon my own god, will put you all to death on account of your unbelief. (AJ^{RZ} 39.11–15)

When they ask for mercy, he then continues:

ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐπιστρέψατε διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μου ἢ αὐτὸς ἀποθανοῦμαι διὰ τῆς θεᾶς ὑμῶν· εὐξομαι γὰρ ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν παρακαλέσας μου τὸν θεὸν ἐλεηθῆναι ὑμᾶς.

Either you convert by my god or I will die by your goddess; for I will pray in your presence and entreat my god to have mercy on you. (AJ^{RZ} 40.6–9)

Note how John repeatedly uses modified "god" phrases, and especially "my god," a way of speaking that resembles how he spoke to the pre-Christian Cleopatra and Lycomedes.⁵² It is also worth remarking that until this point of the episode, John has clearly considered his addressees to be "unconverted": he has both urged them to "convert" and decried their "unbelief."

⁵⁰ For general commentary on this episode, see Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 494–514; Bolyki, "Miracle Stories," 21–24; Sirker-Wicklaus, *Untersuchungen*, 109–112.

⁵¹ On this phrase, see below, pp. 132–33.

⁵² John's motivation for referring to "my own god" rather than simply "God" in AJ^{RZ} 39 seems clear: he is surely clarifying the identity of his referent in the context of a competing cult.

Now, however, the latter situation begins to change. Half of the temple collapses after John prays, and the Ephesians cry out:

εἷς θεὸς Ἰωάννου, εἷς θεὸς ὁ ἐλεῶν ἡμᾶς, ὅτι σὺ μόνος θεός· νῦν ἐπεστρέψαμεν ὁρῶντές σου τὰ θαυμάσια· ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ θεός.

John's god is one; one is the god who has mercy on us, since you alone are god. We are now converted, having seen your wonders. Have mercy on us, God. (AJ^{RZ} 42.7–9)

In this acclamation, the Ephesians explicitly announce their own “conversion.” This is not the end of the story, however, and it soon becomes clear that their process of becoming Christians is not yet complete.⁵³ They themselves recognize their continuing need for John, urging:

Βοήθησον ἡμῖν, Ἰωάννη· παράστα ἡμῖν ἀπολλυμένοις ματαίοις... ἐπίτρεπε ἡμῖν, δέομεθά σου, παραγενομένοις εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν βοηθεῖσθαι ἀκωλύτως.

Help us, John! Assist us who are perishing in vain... We beg you, let us come to the house and receive help without hindrance. (AJ^{RZ} 44)

The fact that the Ephesians can proclaim themselves “converted,” and yet still “perishing” and in need of “help” shows that from their perspective becoming Christian requires more than a single moment of “belief.” Conversion is portrayed by them as a process that requires time spent with the apostle John. The same understanding of conversion as a process is clear from John's response. He tells them:

...εὐχόμενός μου τῷ θεῷ, καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν [Z: αὐτῷ] τότε ἐξελθεῖν Ἐφέσου ὅποτεν ὑμᾶς στηρίξω· ὃ καὶ ἰδὼν γεγονώς καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον γινόμενος [Z: γένομενος] οὐκ ἀπολειφθήσομαι ὑμῶν μέχρις ἂν καθάπερ παιδᾶς τοῦ τῆς τροφῆς γάλακτος ἀποσπᾶσω καὶ ἐπὶ στερεὰν πέτραν καταστήσω.

I had prayed to my god and asked to leave Ephesus only when I had established you. I see that this has been happening and furthermore is still continuing. I will not leave you until I have weaned you like children from the nurse's milk and have set you on a solid rock. (AJ^{RZ} 45.5–10)

⁵³ On acclamations of “one god,” see below, p. 164 n. 51.

John seems to agree that the Ephesians' process of becoming "established" Christians is not yet complete.⁵⁴

The rest of this chapter will show that this depiction of conversion as a process in the Artemis temple episode is reinforced linguistically. For instance, we will see that it is socially significant that both the Ephesians and John continue to use "my"/"your" language throughout most of the episode. At the beginning of the episode, John speaks to them of "the only god," "my own god," and "my god" (AJ^{RZ} 38.5; 39.14; 40.7). Interestingly, he continues to use this sort of language even after they verbally "convert" (AJ^{RZ} 42). First, he urges them to stand and pray τῷ θεῷ μου, "to my god" (AJ^{RZ} 43.5). Then when they, like Lycomedes, request to spend more time with him, he remarks that he had prayed μου τῷ θεῷ, "to my god" (AJ^{RZ} 45.5–6) for permission to stay, although he had been planning to go to Smyrna to seek out οἱ ἐκεῖ δοῦλοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, "the servants of Christ there" (AJ^{RZ} 45.3–4).

The latter reference to "Christ" is the first time John speaks to the Ephesians of Jesus/God without employing a modified "god" phrase. Since he also refers to "my god" in the same speech (AJ^{RZ} 45.5–6), one cannot make too much of this. Nevertheless, it could be a linguistic acknowledgement of the developing Christian status of his addressees.

Their developing status becomes more apparent both thematically and linguistically in the next scene, which takes place at the house of Andronicus. Here, John teaches, prays, and shares "the eucharist" with a group that the narrator calls "brothers" (AJ^{RZ} 46.6). John's addressees are probably understood to include recently converted Ephesians, however, and it is striking therefore how differently he refers to Jesus/God in this scene than earlier in the episode.⁵⁵ Instead of "my god," he now speaks of "God" in an unmodified form, mentioning πίστει τῇ εἰς θεόν, "faith in God" (AJ^{RZ} 46.9). He also employs other substantives. He muses aloud that a young man in the crowd, a relative of

⁵⁴ See above, pp. 94–95. The extended process of conversion in this episode is noted by Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 498.

⁵⁵ Junod and Kaestli also understand the assembly to include the new converts (ibid., 435). On the significance of the term "brothers," see above, p. 96.

the dead priest of Artemis, has been thinking about the value of converting πρὸς κύριον, “to the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 46.13–14), and when the young man addresses him as κύριε, “Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 46.20), John tells him, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὅστις τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ δείξει ἐν τῷ νεκρῷ σου συγγενεῖ [ὁ R] ἀναστήσας αὐτόν, “Our lord is Jesus Christ who will show his power in your dead relative by raising him” (AJ^{RZ} 46.20–23). As we will see, it is probably not a coincidence that John first uses Jesus’ name and the first person plural “our” only after his addressees show signs of Christian identity, and an increasingly established one at that. He also addresses the young man as τέκνον, “child” (AJ^{RZ} 46.19; 47.5).

To summarize, John’s references to Jesus/God in the Artemis temple episode seem to develop in parallel with the Christian status of his addressees. Both before and after the Ephesians announce their “conversion,” John uses “my”/“your” language and most references to Jesus/God involve modified “god” phrases. After they spend more time with him, however, he employs a more diverse set of substantives, makes an unmodified reference to “God,” and uses the first person plural “we.” These varying speech patterns resemble how John spoke to Cleopatra and Lycomedes at different points in their conversion process, and we will now see that similar relationships between speech patterns and social context are evident throughout the narrative.

References to Jesus/God

All references to Jesus/God in AJ^{RZ} will now be surveyed, beginning with the words of John. Enough direct speech is attributed to John that sociolinguistic variation is evident even within the corpus of his own speech. This is fortunate, as limiting analysis to the speech of one character provides a control against the possibility that different characters may be portrayed as using language in different ways. Nevertheless, the latter possibility will not turn out to be a significant factor for references to Jesus/God in AJ^{RZ}. As we will see, references to Jesus/God by other characters generally correspond to John’s own speech patterns, pointing to broad patterns of sociolinguistic variation across the narrative.

That is to say, there are consistent relationships between speech patterns and social context when characters have present living human addressees. In other contexts, such as when John makes long prayers, waxes eloquent over dead bodies, or addresses bedbugs and a snake, he speaks differently. References to Jesus/God in the latter contexts will be explored in a separate section below.

References to Jesus/God by John: Present Living Human Addressees

First to be surveyed are John's references to Jesus/God when he has present living human addressees. We have already seen that John's speech patterns in two particular episodes seem to co-vary with his addressees' Christian status. To recap, addressing non-Christian Ephesians at the temple of Artemis, John uses modified "god" phrases:

- "the only god" (AJ^{RZ} 38.5)
- "my own god" (AJ^{RZ} 39.14) and
- "my god" (AJ^{RZ} 40.7, 8–9).

In the middle of the episode, after the Ephesians begin the conversion process, but before they have been completely "established," John still speaks to them of "my god" (AJ^{RZ} 43.5; 45.5–6), and he also mentions "Christ" (AJ^{RZ} 45.3–4). His preference for "my god" disappears once his addressees have joined him for teaching and prayer, however. At Andronicus' house, John refers to "God" in unmodified form (AJ^{RZ} 46.9), mentions "the Lord" (AJ^{RZ} 46.14), and, addressing a young man, uses both a first person plural and Jesus' name, telling him, "Our lord is Jesus Christ" (AJ^{RZ} 46.21). John's speech patterns thus seem to correlate from scene to scene with the Christian status of his addressees.

The same dynamic is perceptible in the episode of Cleopatra and Lycomedes. When Cleopatra shows no signs of Christian identity, John speaks to her of "my god" (AJ^{RZ} 23.16, 19). He also employs modified "god" phrases when addressing the pre-Christian Lycomedes, referring to:

- "the one who appeared to you" (AJ^{RZ} 21.4–5)
- "the god whom you saw revealing [himself to you] in dreams" (AJ^{RZ} 21.6–7)
- "the god by whose power you have both risen" (AJ^{RZ} 24.23) and
- "the Lord" (AJ^{RZ} 21.9).

The latter reference to “the Lord” will be discussed in a moment. For now, recall that after John begins teaching at Lycomedes’ house, there seems to be a shift in how he refers to Jesus/God. John now uses “God” in an unmodified form (AJ^{RZ} 29.6) and twice employs Jesus’ name (AJ^{RZ} 29.2, 17), one of which is a reference to “our lord Jesus Christ” (AJ^{RZ} 29.17). Just as in the Artemis temple episode, John’s speech patterns seem to co-vary with the Christian status of his addressees.

These relationships are confirmed by the rest of John’s references to Jesus/God in AJ^{RZ}. Addressing established Christians, John never refers to “my god” or modifies the term “god” in any other way that could be construed as clarifying that god’s identity. He also uses the term “lord” and makes unmodified references to “God” more frequently in the latter social context than when he has non-Christian, pre-Christian, or unestablished Christian addressees.

Addressing Christian travelling companions, John refers to:

- τοῦ κυρίου οἱ δοῦλοι, “the servants of the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 37.7) and
- φωνὴν θεοῦ, “the voice of God” (AJ^{RZ} 61.15).

Over the dead body of a woman named Drusiana, John speaks to established Christians of:

- θεόν, “God” (AJ^{RZ} 69.19) and
- ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 72.8–9; 73.14).

Bidding farewell to Ephesian Christians, he mentions Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, “Christ Jesus” (AJ^{RZ} 58.10).

Addressing established Christians in the Metastasis,⁵⁶ he refers to:

- τῆς τοῦ κυρίου βασιλείας, “the Lord’s kingdom” (AJ^{RZ} 106.5)
- τὸν θεόν, “God” (AJ^{RZ} 106.5)

⁵⁶ They are “established” at least in the sense I am using the term. Junod and Kaestli are correct when they note that John’s speeches in the Metastasis show concern for the status of his addressees’ faith (ibid., 435–36).

- αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος, “the Lord himself” (AJ^{RZ} 106.13)
- τοῦ κυρίου, “the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 107.11)
- τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, “our god” (AJ^{RZ} 107.13) and
- ὁ ἀγαθὸς θεός, ὁ εὐσπλαγχνός, ὁ ἐλεήμων, ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ δίκαιος, ὁ καθαρός, ὁ ἀμίαντος, ὁ μόνος, ὁ ἀμετάβολος, ὁ ἄδολος, ὁ ἀόρητος, ὁ πάσης λεγομένης καὶ νοουμένης ἡμῖν προσηγορίας ἀνώτερος καὶ ὑψηλότερος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός

“The good god, the compassionate, the merciful, the holy, the just, the pure, the undefiled, the only, the immutable, the guileless, the patient, Jesus Christ who is higher and more exalted than every name that we may utter or conceive” (AJ^{RZ} 107.1–5).

Note how frequently John refers to “the Lord,” and that he makes several unmodified references to “God.” It is also interesting that although there are two modified “god” phrases, John never refers to “my god” or “the only god,” nor does he employ “god” with any other modifier that could be construed as clarifying that god’s identity. Although John’s use of modified “god” phrases in the Metastasis speech means that modification itself is not as significant in AJ^{RZ} as it was in Acts^B,⁵⁷ particular modifiers do correlate with John’s having non-Christian or unestablished Christian addressees. Most notably, he only speaks of “my god” and “the only god” when addressing characters who are not established Christians, as I had hypothesized when discussing the episodes of the Artemis temple and of Cleopatra and Lycomedes.

On the other hand, it does not turn out that unmodified references to “God” are “Christian insider language” as might have been suggested by linguistic patterns in the same episodes. When one looks at the whole corpus of references to Jesus/God in AJ^{RZ}, one sees that unmodified references to “God” are somewhat more frequent when John addresses established Christians than in other social contexts, but they are not limited to inter-Christian dialogue. John makes two unmodified references to “God” in contexts where he may be addressing non-Christian characters. When John discovers how few healthy old ladies there are in Ephesus, he announces, perhaps to his ministry assistant Verus, that “Jesus” has told him to heal those who are ill or infirm at the theatre (AJ^{RZ}

⁵⁷ See above, pp. 45–51.

30.12–15).⁵⁸ He then addresses “the whole crowd” (AJ^{RZ} 31.1), saying, Αὐριον γίνεσθε ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ὅπόσοι βούλεσθε τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, “Tomorrow be at the theatre, as many of you as want the power of God” (AJ^{RZ} 31.2–4).⁵⁹ John is probably addressing non-Christians in the latter instance. Of course, these characters have gathered in Lycomedes’ house out of interest in John, and prior exposure to his teaching may be implied, which could explain why John feels no need to clarify the identity of “God.” Nevertheless, his addressees are probably not Christians, which at a more fundamental level suggests that unmodified references to “God” may not function as Christian insider language in the narrative. The fact that John also mentions τὸν θεόν, “God,” perhaps to Verus, earlier in the scene (AJ^{RZ} 30.10–11) also supports a conclusion that the unmodified “God” is simply a default way of speaking.

That unmodified references to “God” are default or unmarked forms is also suggested by several instances in a later episode. In that episode, John speaks of τὸν θεόν, “God” to a young man who has recently castrated himself (AJ^{RZ} 54.11).⁶⁰ The tradition may understand the young man to have begun the conversion process at this point, since he has already remarked, ἐμὲ...ὁ θεὸς ἠλέησεν, “God has had mercy on me” (AJ^{RZ} 53.6). His Christian status is questionable, however, since in the same speech where he himself refers to “God,” John characterizes the act of self-castration as inspired by Satan and urges the young man to “repent” (AJ^{RZ} 54). The social context of the young man’s own reference to “God” is also noteworthy. As we will see below, he seems to be addressing a non-Christian character. Speech patterns in this episode therefore again suggest that unmodified references to “God” are best understood not as “Christian insider language,” but as default or unmarked forms. They are more frequent when John addresses established Christians than in other social contexts, but their main interest lies simply in the fact that they contrast how John typically refers to Jesus/God with non-Christian or

⁵⁸ For general commentary on this story, see *Acta Iohannis*, 456–65; Bolyki, “Miracle Stories,” 20–21; and Bremmer, “Women,” 44–50.

⁵⁹ AJ^H reads ὅπόσοι βούλεσθε καὶ ἰδέσθαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, “as many of you as want to see the power of God.”

⁶⁰ For commentary on this story, see Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 514–23; Eric Junod, “Le mystère apocryphe ou les richesses cachées d’une littérature méconnue,” in *Le mystère apocryphe: introduction à une littérature méconnue*, ed. Jean-Daniel Kaestli and Daniel Marguerat (Geneva: Labor et fides, 2007), 23–26; Bolyki, “Miracle Stories,” 24–25.

unestablished Christian addressees. In the latter contexts, he is more likely to speak of “my god” or to use the term “god” with other clarifying modifiers than to use the unmodified “God” or other substantives.

Moving on, although use of the term “god” differs somewhat between AJ^{RZ} and Acts^B, the relationship between Christian status and use of the term κύριος, “lord” is similar. In AJ^{RZ}, the term “lord” appears more frequently in inter-Christian dialogue than in other social contexts. Such language correlates positively with Christian identity of both speaker and addressee to a much greater degree than do unmodified references to “God.”

It is also possible that use of Jesus’ name correlates positively with Christian status in AJ^{RZ}. In fact, John only once uses Jesus’ name with non-Christian addressees. Having summoned the infirm old women of Ephesus to the theatre, he announces to the crowd:

ὁμᾶς ὅλους ἐπιστρέφων...ὃν κηρύσσω Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν εὐσπλαγχνος ὢν καὶ χρηστὸς βούλεται δι’ ἐμοῦ τῆς πλάνης ὑμᾶς ἐξελέσθαι.

Jesus Christ whom I proclaim, being compassionate and kind, wishes to free you from error through me, converting all of you. (AJ^{RZ} 33.6–8)

It is worth noting that in this, John’s only reference to Jesus by name with non-Christian addressees, he qualifies the name in a way that clarifies Jesus’ identity. Such a construction is not paralleled in dialogue with established Christian addressees.

Likewise, John only makes one reference to “the Lord” in AJ^{RZ} with a non-Christian addressee. John exhorts the pre-Christian Lycomedes, δεῖθῃτι τοῦ κυρίου, παρακάλεσον αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς συμβίου σου καὶ ἀναστήσῃ, “Ask the Lord, entreat him concerning your spouse, and he will raise her” (AJ^{RZ} 21.9–10). Although John regularly refers to “the Lord” when addressing established Christians, this is the only instance addressed to a non-Christian, and it is an outlier among John’s speech patterns in the narrative. Erring on the side of caution, I will not label references to “lord” as “Christian insider language” because of this instance. Nevertheless, the frequency of such references

in inter-Christian dialogue means that it still functions essentially as an “insider” speech pattern.⁶¹

If references to “the Lord” are essentially (if not exclusively) linked with Christian contexts, how has this “outlier” come about? I think that the author/redactor has made a “mistake,” influenced by the fact that he was writing about prayer. Looking at how prayers are introduced in AJ^{RZ}, one sees that the narrator does not usually specify the addressee of prayer. Most prayers are introduced simply with a verb of speaking such as λέγω (AJ^{RZ} 18.12; 24.8; 51.6; 77.2; 79.5; 82.2; 85.2; 108.1; 109.1; 111.13). In a few cases the narrator employs a form of the verb εὔχομαι, “to pray” (AJ^{RZ} 41.1; 75.3; 111.13) and other prayers receive no introduction at all (AJ^{RZ} 21.19; 42.8–9; 64.8). There are only three instances in which the narrator specifies the addressee of prayer, and in each case he employs the words εἶπε πρὸς (τὸν) κύριον, “he said to the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 22.3–4; 43.2; 48.7–8). This suggests that “the Lord” may naturally have come to the author’s mind when thinking about prayer.

Although I think this is the best explanation for John’s reference to “the Lord” addressed to Lycomedes, there are of course other possibilities. Let me mention one. One could observe, for instance, that John sometimes associates the act of prayer to his god with Christian identification. When John urges the Ephesians, εὔξασθε τῷ θεῷ μου, “Pray to my god” (AJ^{RZ} 43.5), he seems to be inviting them to transfer allegiance away from Artemis.⁶² If Lycomedes were to pray to “the Lord,” would he thereby mark himself as a Christian to whom Christian insider language could appropriately be addressed (proleptically)? Possibly. I do not think this is the best explanation, however. John does not tell the Ephesians to pray to “the Lord,” but to “my god,” and he uses similar

⁶¹ Of course, the social significance of frequency must be considered carefully. J. K. Chambers suggests, “The social significance of [linguistic variants] is very often an attribute not of their presence or absence in a person’s speech but of their frequency in that speech compared to someone else’s speech” (J. K. Chambers, “Evaluation: Introduction,” in *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, ed. J. K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes [Oxford: Blackwell, 2002], 115). Coupland, on the other hand, urges caution: “Quantitative accounts assume that...frequencies of occurrence of speech variants are regularly perceived to be meaningfully different... It has yet to be demonstrated that a 60% pattern will have a different meaning..., from a 40% pattern, and so on” (Coupland, *Style*, 76).

⁶² Cf. AJ^{RZ} 27.7.

language on the other two occasions when he speaks to the Ephesians about praying, urging them to call upon τὸν ἰδίον μου θεόν, “my own god” (AJ^{RZ} 39.14) and announcing that he will pray to the one he calls μου τὸν θεόν, “my god” (AJ^{RZ} 40.8–9). Furthermore, the first time John tells Lycomedes to pray, he also refers to Jesus/God using language not typical of inter-Christian dialogue, urging, σὺν ἡμῖν τοίνυν στὰς τοῖς διὰ ταύτην ἐληλυθόσιν ἔπευξαι τῷ θεῷ ὃν εἶδες..., “Therefore stand with us, who have come on [your wife’s] account, and pray to the god whom you saw...” (AJ^{RZ} 21.5–7). It is unlikely that John’s reference to “the Lord” is in any way proleptic given that he uses this clarifying “god” phrase in the same scene. His telling the pre-Christian Lycomedes to pray to “the Lord” is therefore more likely an authorial or scribal error.

Returning to our survey, we have now seen that John’s references to Jesus/God generally co-vary with the Christian status of his addressees. How John refers to Jesus/God when addressing clearly Christian characters differs from how he speaks when addressing non-Christians or unestablished Christians. John never refers to “my god” when addressing established Christians, while use of “lord” correlates to a strong degree with addressees’ Christian identity. John’s speech patterns also seem to reflect the fact that the narrative does not divide characters into discrete “Christian” and “non-Christian” categories. He continues to use “my god” language with the former worshippers of Artemis even after they announce their own “conversion.”

Finally, it is worth remarking that comparing John’s speech patterns in the latter episode with how he speaks to another new Christian named Callimachus may even provide linguistic evidence that the authors/redactors themselves were a bit “fuzzy” as to a definitive moment when a person could be said to “become” a Christian.⁶³ Addressing Callimachus, John announces:

δόξα τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν...τῷ ἐλέησαντί σε καὶ καταξιώσαντί με δοξάσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ καταξιώσαντι καὶ σὲ μεθόδῳ τῆς παρὰ σοῦ ἐκείνης σου μανίας καὶ μέθης μεταστῆναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ ἀνακαίνισιν βίου καλέσαντι.

⁶³ For commentary on this story, see Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 541–63; Bolyki, “Miracle Stories,” 27–31; and Bremmer, “Women,” 41–44.

Glory be to our god who has had mercy on you, who has considered me worthy to glorify his power and has also considered you worthy to depart from your madness and intoxication by an arrangement, and who has called you to [his] own rest and renewal of life. (AJ^{RZ} 78.2–6)

Callimachus already shows some signs of Christian identification at this point in the narrative: he has proclaimed himself ὁ μέλλων πιστός, “going to believe” (AJ^{RZ} 76.39), and John is already rejoicing as he considers τὴν ὅλην θεωρίαν τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, “the whole spectacle of the man’s salvation” (AJ^{RZ} 77.2). Nevertheless, Callimachus has only recently begun the conversion process, and it is striking that John is already using the first person plural, speaking of “our god.”⁶⁴ This seems to contrast John’s speech patterns in the Artemis temple episode, where he continued to speak to the former worshippers of Artemis of “my god” even after they announced their own “conversion.” Without delving into differences between the episodes that may account for John’s specific choice of words, I would argue that the very fact that John addresses these two sets of converting characters in different ways reveals ambiguity and/or disinterest at the narrative level—and even at the level of the tradition itself—as to defining a precise moment when one acquires Christian identity.

“We,” “My,” and “Your” in AJ^{RZ}

In order to appreciate the significance of John’s personal pronouns in the expressions just cited, it will be helpful to consider “we,” “my,” and “your” language in AJ^{RZ} more generally.

“We”

First person plurals—pronouns, adjectives, and verb forms—have a distinctive distribution: John’s “we,” when used with present living human addressees, is almost always inclusive, and correlates with his addressees’ positive Christian status. In other words, John typically uses “we” forms only with Christian addressees, and by “we” he means either “everyone” (e.g. AJ^{RZ} 29.2, 4) or, more often, “you and I.”

Let us consider non-inclusive uses first. John only uses a non-inclusive “we” once when directly addressing a non-Christian character: he urges Lycomedes, “Stand with us”

⁶⁴ Later in the scene, John speaks to Callimachus of ὁ θεός, “God” (AJ^{RZ} 81.10).

(AJ^{RZ} 21.6). John’s “we” in this instance includes himself and his travelling companions, but not his addressee. Similarly, John only uses a non-inclusive “we” with one Christian addressee, in a speech addressed to Callimachus (AJ^{RZ} 81; see AJ^{RZ} 81.17–20).⁶⁵

In contrast to the rarity of his non-inclusive “we,” John uses an inclusive “we” fairly frequently—almost always when addressing characters who show signs of Christian identity (AJ^{RZ} 29.2, 4, 17; 37.6–7; 46.21; 61.14–16; 72.8; 106.12–14 [R], 17–18; 107.4–13; 110.5 [R])—and an inclusive “we” also appears in other inter-Christian dialogue (AJ^{RZ} 25.9; 37.2–5; 74.20; cf. 27.16). When John addresses clearly non-Christian characters, on the other hand, he almost never uses an inclusive “we.” There are no examples in AJ^Z, and only two in AJ^R. The latter both occur in a speech at the Ephesian theatre (AJ^{RZ} 33.3, 11 [R]) in which plural “you” forms predominate.

It thus appears that when John addresses present living humans, he typically uses “we” in an inclusive sense, and almost always with Christian addressees. The inclusive Christian overtones of John’s “we” make his reference to “our god” addressed to Callimachus especially noteworthy; despite the fact that the latter has only recently begun the conversion process, John’s language seems to characterize him as already an insider of the Christian community.⁶⁶

“My” in Reference to Third Parties

John’s references to “my god” addressed to the Ephesian crowd have precisely the opposite effect. A survey of first and second person singulars in AJ^{RZ} shows that singular “my” and “your” are almost never used when “our” could have been said, except for “my” phrases that refer to the addressee or “your” phrases that refer to the speaker.

⁶⁵ John may use a non-inclusive “we” addressing Satan at AJ^{RZ} 84.19. See below, p. 122.

⁶⁶ “We” in other speech contexts: Non-Christians never include themselves and John in a “we” (cf. AJ^{RZ} 19.7; 25.2, 6–7; 40.2–3; 42.7–11; 44.3, 6–13; 55.2–7). In prayer, John uses a non-inclusive “we” (AJ^{RZ} 21.20–22; 22.5; 75.4–8; 77.6–17; 79.14; 85.3–11; 108.11–12; 109.3–19; 112.1–2), and there are two “we” forms in AJ^{RZ} used with addressees that are not present living humans (AJ^{RZ} 83.2; 84.19). The unique dynamics of the latter speech contexts will be discussed below. Andronicus also once quotes a voice who has spoken to John, including a use of ἡμῖν (AJ^{RZ} 74.14).

We have already seen that John never refers to “my god” when he has established Christian addressees. Implicit in the expression thus seems to be the sense of “my god, not (yet) yours.” A survey of all first person singulars in AJ^{RZ} further demonstrates that “my” language is in fact consistently exclusive. Besides one vocative instance, there are only three expressions in AJ^{RZ} where “my” could conceivably have been replaced by “our”:

- A Christian named Andronicus speaks to John of τῆς ἀδελφῆς μου, “my sister” or “my wife” (AJ^{RZ} 74.4–5).
- John speaks to a dead man of μου ὁ κύριος, “my lord” (AJ^{RZ} 52.2).
- At Lycomedes’ house, John sees himself in a mirror and exclaims, ζῇ κύριος μου Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, “As my lord Jesus Christ lives!” (AJ^{RZ} 28.5–6).

In the first instance, “my” is probably exclusive. Andronicus is referring to Drusiana, a woman to whom he has been married, but with whom he now has a “brother and sister” relationship (cf. AJ^{RZ} 82.8–9). Given the complexity of their relationship, one cannot say for certain whether his words should be translated “my wife”—in which case the first person singular is the only possibility—or “my sister.” In the latter case, the “my” could theoretically be replaced by “our,” since one can imagine John’s calling Drusiana “my sister” given his use of sibling terms for fellow Christians elsewhere in the narrative. Nevertheless, Andronicus’ relationship with Drusiana is so unique that even if he refers to her as “my sister” here, he probably does so in a way that John cannot emulate.⁶⁷

Meanwhile, the other two instances are in fact not relevant for a consideration of John’s speech patterns with present living human addressees. John’s “my lord” is addressed to a dead man, and his “my lord Jesus Christ” is best understood as an exclamation with no particular addressees, rather than as addressed to Lycomedes. These expressions thus do not directly inform the connotations of “my” when used with present living human addressees. In the latter context, therefore, John’s “my,” when used in reference to third parties, appears to have a consistently exclusive sense.

There is only one “my” expression spoken by another character that, as sometimes translated, could challenge this conclusion. When Andronicus learns that Drusiana has

⁶⁷ On use of ἀδελφός / ἀδελφή for spouses, cf. Dickey, “Kinship,” 156–61.

died, he is so upset that he weeps openly (AJ^{RZ} 65.1–2), and John, who disapproves of emotional outbursts, tries to silence him. Andronicus then responds, ...οὐκ ἀμφιβάλλων ὅλως περὶ τῆς εἰς θεόν μου πίστεως, “I am not at all doubting my faith in God” (AJ^{RZ} 65.6–7). Some translators, probably drawing on the doubly articular reading in AJ^M and AJ^O (τῆς εἰς τὸν θεόν μου πίστεως), render his words “faith in my god.”⁶⁸ If the latter translation were also correct for AJ^{RZ}, it would challenge the idea that John’s “my” language is consistently exclusive and, incidentally, the conclusion reached earlier that the expression “my god” never appears in inter-Christian dialogue, since the narrative presents both John and Andronicus as established Christians. “My god” is not the best translation of Andronicus’ words, however. There are no exact parallels to the phrase in AJ^{RZ}, but a number of other *article–modifier–personal-pronoun–noun* constructions do appear. In most cases, the modifier is an adjective, as in τῆς ταλαιπώρου μου γυναικός, “my miserable wife” (AJ^{RZ} 20.4) and τῷ σαρκικῷ μου εἰδώλῳ, “my fleshly image” (AJ^{RZ} 28.7).⁶⁹ When the modifier is an adjective, the personal pronoun attaches to the noun that follows it. In other cases, the modifier is a subjective genitive noun, as in τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ μου δυνάμει, “the power of my god” (AJ^{RZ} 23.19) and τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ὑμῶν ἀπιστίαν, “the disbelief of your official” (AJ^{RZ} 33.10). When the modifier is a subjective genitive noun, the personal pronoun attaches to the noun that precedes it. So does εἰς θεόν in the phrase τῆς εἰς θεόν μου πίστεως function more like an adjective or a subjective genitive? The adjectival modifiers are a closer analogue.

Further support for reading Andronicus’ words as “my faith in God” is provided by a survey of *article–εἰς–(article)–noun–personal-pronoun–noun* constructions in other Greek literature. When Ignatius writes, μακαρίζει μου ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν εἰς θεὸν αὐτοῦ

⁶⁸ Junod and Kaestli are definitely translating the doubly articular form of the phrase (*Acta Iohannis*, 256). Also reading “my god” are the following translations: Elliott, *Apocryphal NT*, 329; Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament: Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles and Apocalypses, with Other Narratives and Fragments*, corr. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 244; Bernhard Pick, *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul, Peter, John, Andrew and Thomas* (Chicago: Open Court, 1909), 163.

⁶⁹ Other instances in AJ^{RZ} with a modifying adjective: ἡ τοσαύτη μου παρρησία, “my great confidence” (AJ^{RZ} 33.2); τὸν ἰδιόν μου θεόν, “my own god” (AJ^{RZ} 39.14); τοῦ νεκροῦ μου συγγενοῦς, “my dead relative” (AJ^{RZ} 46.13); τοῦ παλαιοῦ μου συμβίου, “my former spouse” (AJ^{RZ} 82.7). With σου: AJ^{RZ} 21.3–4; 22.16; 23.17–18; 29.11; 46.22; 77.4, 17–18; 82.6, 7. With ὑμῶν: AJ^{RZ} 39.6; 40.6. With ἡμῶν: AJ^{RZ} 108.10–11. With αὐτοῦ: AJ^{RZ} 107.14.

γνώμην, he clearly means “his attitude toward God” and not “the attitude toward his god” (*Phila.* 1.2). When he writes τὴν εἰς θεόν μου γνώμην διαφθεῖραι, he means “my attitude toward God,” not “the attitude toward my god” (*Rom.* 7.1). It appears furthermore that the arthrous or anarthrous state of the noun preceding the personal pronoun may influence which word it modifies. In Ignatius’ statements, where the preceding noun is anarthrous, the personal pronoun modifies the noun that follows it. If the preceding noun were arthrous, on the other hand, the personal pronoun could well modify it. In Acts^B 26:6, for instance, τῆς εἰς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐπαγγελίας can only be understood as “the promise to our fathers,” not “our promise to the fathers.” In any case, since θεός, “god” in AJ^{RZ} 65.6–7 is anarthrous, Andronicus’ words are best translated “my faith in God.”

We can therefore state confidently that when John uses the singular “my” in reference to third parties, it carries a consistently exclusive sense. This confirms the social significance of expressions such as “my god” in the mouth of John: when John speaks to the “converted” Ephesian crowd of “my god,” it is exclusive language that contrasts his speaking to Callimachus using the inclusive insider “our.”

“My” and “Your” in Reference to Self or Addressee

As an aside, it is worth noting that “my” is not necessarily exclusive when used in reference to one’s addressee. When John invokes Ἰησοῦ μου, “my Jesus” (AJ^{RZ} 43.2), “my” does not seem to have a distancing effect.⁷⁰ Similarly, when speakers use the singular “your” in reference to themselves in AJ^{RZ}, there are no distancing overtones. When Cleopatra calls herself τὴν δούλην σου, “your servant” (AJ^{RZ} 23.9–10) or when John speaks of himself as τοῦ σοῦ Ἰωάννου, “your John” (AJ^{RZ} 112.17), “your” does not have distancing connotations, and when a heavenly voice speaks to John of τῷ κυρίῳ σου, “your lord” (AJ^{RZ} 18.8–10), this is arguably also a non-distancing reference to self.⁷¹ When the singular “your” is used in reference to third parties, however, it, like “my,” functions exclusively. In the latter context, singular “your” is never employed when

⁷⁰ That the personal pronoun modifies “Jesus” is by far the most natural understanding of the phrase, especially in the context of longer invocations in AJ^{RZ}. Succeeding clauses are regularly introduced with the article, and never with a preceding pronoun.

⁷¹ Even if it is not, the non-human nature of the speaker makes this reference unique.

“our” could have been said, and “your god” thus always seems to mean “your god, not mine.”⁷²

References to Jesus/God by Other Speakers: Present Living Human Addressees

We will now examine references to Jesus/God by other speakers—speakers other than John—again concentrating on instances in which they have present living human addressees. This will demonstrate that the relationships between speech patterns and social context observed for John’s speech hold broadly across the narrative. As we will see, almost all characters who refer to Jesus/God in AJ^{RZ} use language that corresponds to how John himself speaks.

Let us first consider how established Christians speak. When established Christians refer to “God” amongst themselves, they always use the term in an unmodified form. In addition to Andronicus’ reference to “my faith in God,” John’s travelling companions speak to him of τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ, “God’s mighty works” (AJ^{RZ} 37.3) and Andronicus addresses him as μακάριε δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰωάννη, “John, blessed servant of God” (AJ^{RZ} 74.3–4). Furthermore, both Andronicus (AJ^{RZ} 79.6) and other established Christians (AJ^{RZ} 25.10) refer to “the Lord” addressing John, and Andronicus also tells John, πείθομαι δὲ τῷ εἰρηκότι ὅτι τῶν πλανηθέντων ἀνθρώπων οὗτος ὑπάρχει [Ζ: -χων] σωτήρ, which should probably be translated, “I believe the one who has spoken, since he is savior of those who have been led astray” (AJ^{RZ} 74.15–17). In the latter case, Andronicus is referring to a voice associated with the appearance of a “handsome young man,” which he seems to identify as the voice of Jesus/God (cf. AJ 73.1–5).⁷³ Although the latter reference to Jesus/God is unique, the others resemble how John speaks with established Christian addressees.

⁷² In an epistolary context, Dickey notes that μου, “my” did not always exclude the addressee; in rare cases, one could refer to “my father” when addressing a sibling. She finds no evidence that σου, “your” could be used similarly, however, although she hesitates to draw firm conclusions. See Dickey, “Kinship,” 168–69.

⁷³ The narrator refers to this figure as τινα εὐμορφον νεανίσκον, “a handsome young man” (AJ^{RZ} 73.3) and ὁ καλός, “the beautiful one” (AJ^{RZ} 73.7–8). Andronicus refers to him using the latter term (AJ^{RZ} 74.11), and speaks of ἡ φωνὴ εἰρηκυῖα πρὸς σε..., “the voice that spoke to you” (AJ^{RZ} 74.12–13). John addresses the figure as ὁ καλός, “the beautiful one” (AJ^{RZ} 73.4).

Non-Christians and converting characters also speak in ways that correspond to how John speaks when addressing them: they usually refer to Jesus/God using the term “god” with clarifying modifiers, and never refer to “Jesus” or “the Lord.” Thus before being instructed by John, Lycomedes speaks to him of:

- “the god whom you proclaim” (AJ^{RZ} 19.4)
- “your god” (AJ^{RZ} 19.6; 25.6)
- “the god who revealed you to me” (AJ^{RZ} 19.13–14) and
- “the god in whose name you raised us” (AJ^{RZ} 25.2).

Note how the pre-Christian and converting Lycomedes only uses modified “god” phrases. Only after spending more time with John does he refer to “God” in an unmodified form, saying to John, “God is that one who has raised me from death... But if after that god those people who are our benefactors must also be called gods...” (AJ^{RZ} 27.14–16). Lycomedes’ unmodified reference to “God” in the latter instance contrasts his earlier language and correlates with his increasingly established Christian identity.⁷⁴

Non-Christians and converting characters at the temple of Artemis also refer to Jesus/God using modified “god” phrases. They exclaim:

- εἷς θεὸς Ἰωάννου, εἷς θεὸς ὁ ἐλεῶν ἡμᾶς, ὅτι σὺ μόνος θεός... ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ θεός, “John’s god is one; one is the god who has mercy on us, since you alone are god... Have mercy on us, God” (AJ^{RZ} 42.7–9), and
- τὸν Ἰωάννου θεὸν μόνον οἶδαμεν, “We know only John’s god” (AJ^{RZ} 44.2–3).

They also speak to John in contrasting terms of τὸν θεόν σου, “your god” and τοὺς θεοὺς ἡμῶν, “our gods” (AJ^{RZ} 44.8–9). Their references to “your god” and “John’s god” parallel John’s references to “my god” when addressing them.

Other non-Christian characters in AJ^{RZ} also refer to Jesus/God using modified “god” phrases. Delegates from Smyrna tell John they have heard that ὃν κηρύσσεις θεόν, “the god whom you proclaim” (AJ^{RZ} 55.3) does not want John’s message limited to specific localities. Since John is the κήρυξ θεοῦ τοιούτου, “herald of such a god” (AJ^{RZ} 55.3–4),

⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the tenor of his statement is still striking. The narrative never clarifies whether benefactors should indeed be called “gods.”

they hope he will come to Smyrna so that they, too, may know σου τὸν θεόν, “your god” (AJ^{RZ} 55.6). Note the qualified references to “god” made by these non-Christian characters.

Finally, a modified “god” phrase is employed by a murdered father whom John brings back to life. The man addresses John as ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, “man of the living god” (AJ^{RZ} 52.7–8). Since the father’s words acknowledge the preeminence of John’s god, one is not surprised when he soon “believes” (AJ^{RZ} 52.12).

In all of these instances, characters refer to Jesus/God in ways that correspond to how John himself speaks. The established Christian characters amongst themselves refer to “God” and “the Lord,” whereas the non-Christian and converting characters frequently employ modified “god” phrases.

Correspondence between John’s speech patterns and those of other characters also extends to unmodified references to “God.” As discussed earlier, the self-castrating parricide, murderer of the father mentioned above, announces, ἐμὲ γὰρ ὁ θεός ἡλέησεν, “God has had mercy on me” (AJ^{RZ} 53.6), addressing a woman with whom he has had an adulterous affair. Since there is no hint that the woman is a Christian, the young man’s language supports a conclusion that unmodified references to “God” are not “Christian insider language” but rather default or socially unmarked forms.⁷⁵

A final character to refer to Jesus/God in the narrative is Callimachus, who uses an interesting mixture of language in a speech that ends with an announcement that he is “going to believe” (AJ^{RZ} 76.39). He makes two unmodified references to “God,” addressing John as δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ, “servant of God” (AJ^{RZ} 76.21), and saying that he has seen θεοῦ ἄγγελον, “an angel of God” (AJ^{RZ} 76.22).⁷⁶ Callimachus also uses modified “god” phrases, telling John he now knows that ἀληθὴς θεὸς ὑπὸ σοῦ καταγγέλλεται, “a true god is proclaimed by you” (AJ^{RZ} 76.23), and mentioning τῷ θεῷ σου, “your god” (AJ^{RZ} 76.25–26). Finally, he makes a reference to Christ, announcing, ἄνθρωπος θέλω

⁷⁵ See above, pp. 108–110.

⁷⁶ Later in the episode, Callimachus refers to “God” in an unmodified form addressing the established Christian Drusiana (AJ^{RZ} 81.7).

γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ Χριστὸν ἐλπίζόντων, “I want to become one of those people who hope in Christ” (AJ^{RZ} 76.35–36). It will be suggested below that Callimachus’ speech patterns may characterize him as being in a transitional phase of faith.⁷⁷

References to Jesus/God by All Speakers: Addressees who are Not Present, Not Living, and/or Not Human

We have now seen that when John has present living human addressees, his references to Jesus/God co-vary with their Christian status, and that the speech patterns of other characters generally adhere to the same framework: John only uses expressions such as “my god” when addressing characters who are not established Christians, while his use of the first person plural “our” almost invariably corresponds with other signs of addressees’ Christian identity. Furthermore, references to “lord” and “Jesus” also appear primarily in inter-Christian dialogue, a speech context characterized by a relatively high frequency of terms other than θεός, “god.”

Given the consistency of these patterns across the narrative, it is striking to observe that different language is used when John addresses characters who are not present, not living, or not human. Exclaiming over the attitude of a non-Christian character named Fortunatus, for instance, John mentions:

- τῶν ἐλπίζόντων πρὸς κύριον, “those who hope in the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 84.10–11)
- θεόν, “God” (AJ^{RZ} 84.14)
- ἀνοσιώτατε καὶ θεοῦ ἐχθρὲ Σατανᾶ, “most unholy Satan, enemy of God” (AJ^{RZ} 84.18) and
- Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, “Jesus Christ, our god” (AJ^{RZ} 84.19).

At the beginning of the speech, John’s words may be directed at Fortunatus, who is

⁷⁷ In AJ^M, Callimachus’ language is more consistently qualified. He calls John ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, “man of God,” but then refers to ἄγγελον...θεοῦ τοῦ ὑπὸ σοῦ κηρυττομένου, “an angel of the god whom you proclaim” and τῷ σῷ δεσπότῃ Χριστῷ, “your master, Christ.” The unmodified reference to “those who hope in Christ” does not appear. AJ^M is too brief for a full sociolinguistic analysis, but it would be interesting to examine language used in the AJ^{Pr} sections of that manuscript to see how they might correspond.

absent at the time. By the end of the speech, however, he is clearly addressing Satan.⁷⁸ With either addressee, John's reference to "the Lord" and the first person plural of "Jesus Christ, our god" are surprising: when John has present living human (PLH) addressees, he is more likely to use such language with Christians than with non-Christians. For similar reasons, it is striking to hear Drusiana command the dead Fortunatus to rise ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, "in the name of our lord Jesus Christ" earlier in the scene (AJ^{RZ} 83.2–3); a Christian character such as Drusiana, as Christians are depicted in AJ^{RZ}, would surely not have used the phrase "our lord" had her addressee been present and alive.

What might explain the sociolinguistic mismatch between these references to Jesus/God and those found in PLH dialogue? Regarding Drusiana's words, one might wonder whether references to "our lord Jesus Christ" are typical in resuscitation contexts. They are not. When John raises Cleopatra, Callimachus, and the murdered father (AJ^{RZ} 23, 52, 75), and when he instructs Cleopatra and the priest's relative to raise their relations (AJ^{RZ} 24, 47), no such formula appears. Resuscitation in AJ^{RZ} is effected primarily through a command for the stricken individual to "rise," using the verb ἀνίστημι. Although John does mention his intention to command someone to rise "in the name of Jesus Christ" once, in prayer (AJ^{RZ} 22.20), he does not actually use the formula when he carries out the deed (cf. AJ 23.6–8). Context, therefore, does not sufficiently account for Drusiana's words.

As for John's words, could it be the case that he simply speaks in a different way when addressing Satan than when addressing humans? This is certainly a possibility, especially since John's speech patterns in prayer, a potentially analogous situation, differ somewhat

⁷⁸ Suggesting Fortunatus as John's primary addressee are Rolandus and Bolyki (Hans Rolandus, "Die Eucharistie in den Johannesakten," in *The Apocryphal Acts of John*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer [Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995], 77–78; Bolyki, "Miracle Stories," 29). Junod and Kaestli go with Satan (Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 561–62). An element of conflation is possible. On the conflating of a character and Satan in the Acts of Andrew, see Monika Pesthy, "Aegeates, the Devil in Person," in *The Apocryphal Acts of Andrew*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 47–55. For the perspective of AJ^{RZ} on Satan and his "children," see, e.g., AJ^{RZ} 21, 30, 49, 50, 54, 63, 66, 69, 70, 86, 108, 112, 114; and cf. Junod and Kaestli, "Les traits," 136.

from how he speaks in other social contexts. Although John's "we" in PLH dialogue typically includes his addressee, for instance, this is not the case in prayer.⁷⁹

There are also other factors that may account for John and Drusiana's words, however. One possible explanation for the mismatch between their references to Jesus/God addressed to Fortunatus/Satan and those found in PLH dialogue is that the speech patterns of inter-Christian PLH dialogue are "unmarked," that is, that they are default ways of speaking that are employed unless particular circumstances prompt a change in register. If inter-Christian speech patterns are "default" ways of speaking, that could explain why Satan and the dead Fortunatus are addressed using language found elsewhere primarily in inter-Christian dialogue. It would suggest that the non-Christian status of addressees is only sufficient motivation for a shift in vocabulary when said addressees are present, living, and human. Such an "inter-Christian language default" would be interesting because it would suggest that John—or rather, the author/redactor—operated primarily in a Christian environment. It is hard to imagine how inter-Christian speech patterns could become the default otherwise.

Finally, it is worth considering whether the words of John and Drusiana have been influenced by the Christian status of bystanders, a concept mentioned in chapter 1.⁸⁰ One observes that all the living humans present when they address Fortunatus/Satan are Christians, and that such is also the case on the only other occasion when John speaks to a non-PLH character using primarily inter-Christian PLH terms: only Christians are present when he mentions τοῦ μέλλοντος Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν δουλεύειν, "the one who is going to serve Jesus Christ" to a snake (AJ^{RZ} 75.2–3). The correlation of Christian bystanders with what in a PLH context would be inter-Christian references to Jesus/God may not be a coincidence, and such a correlation is supported by the fact that when John's overhearers include non-Christians, he does not refer to "Jesus" or use the first person plural "our." In at least one of the latter cases, he even acknowledges the presence of a non-Christian audience explicitly: he speaks to Cleopatra of "the crowd who are here and your relatives who have come in" (AJ^{RZ} 24.16–17) before instructing

⁷⁹ See above, pp. 113–114, and below, pp. 125–28.

⁸⁰ See above, pp. 10–11.

her to raise her husband with the words, ἀναστὰς δόξασον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ὄνομα, “Arise and glorify the name of God” (AJ^{RZ} 24.18). Although the latter unmodified reference to “God” contrasts the “my god” language he uses with non-Christian PLH addressees in that particular episode, recall that John does speak of “God” elsewhere in AJ^{RZ} with non-Christian addressees. John’s mentioning “God” in the Cleopatra scene would therefore suit the non-Christian status of the bystanders.

John probably also has non-Christian overhearers earlier in the episode when he speaks to the stricken Cleopatra of:

ὃν ἐφοβήθη πᾶς ἄρχων καὶ πᾶσα κτίσις, δύναμις, ἄβυσσός τε καὶ σκότος
ἅπαν καὶ θάνατος ἀγέλαστος καὶ οὐρανῶν ὕψωμα καὶ ἄδου κυκλώματα καὶ
νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις καὶ πηρῶν ὄψις καὶ τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος ἅπανα ἡ δύναμις
καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ὑπερηφάνια

the one whom every ruler fears, and every creature, power, abyss and all darkness, and grave death and the height of heaven and the circles of Hades and the resurrection of the dead and the sight of the blind and the whole power of the ruler of the world and the pride of the prince (AJ^{RZ} 23.2–6).

This reference to Jesus/God is unique, but again not necessarily ill-suited to a non-Christian audience.

Finally, when John speaks to the murdered (non-Christian) father of:

- μου ὁ κύριος, “my lord” (AJ^{RZ} 52.2) and
- τῷ θεῷ, “God” (AJ^{RZ} 52.4),

his words would again be in keeping with the presence of numerous (presumably non-Christian) “passers-by” in the vicinity (AJ^{RZ} 51.2–3). On the one hand, John’s use of the term “lord” when addressing a non-Christian in the presence of non-Christian bystanders is striking. As remarked above, all instances of “lord” in PLH contexts except one appear in inter-Christian dialogue. John does not speak of “the Lord” in this scene, however, but of “my lord,” which may have an entirely different significance. Recall that John’s “my” typically excludes his addressees. This means that his use of “my lord,” as with “my god,” could relate to his having addressees—and in this case auditors—who are

not established Christians.⁸¹ John’s reference to “my lord” in this scene is therefore in keeping with a hypothesis that bystanders have influenced speech patterns when speakers have non-PLH addressees, although it does not rule out the possibility that some element of “inter-Christian language default” may simultaneously be at work.⁸²

On the topic of speech patterns with non-PLH addressees, it is worth remarking finally that the frequency with which unmodified references to “God” are made in this context, regardless of the Christian status of bystanders or of ostensible addressees, again supports understanding this as a default or unmarked form of speech: John refers to “God” in an unmodified form when addressing non-Christian characters who are non-PLH with both non-Christian (AJ^{RZ} 24.18; 52.4) and Christian bystanders (AJ^{RZ} 84.14, 18; cf. 47.6–7; 60.12–13). The latter include a reference by John to τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ, “the servants of God,” addressing bedbugs (AJ^{RZ} 60.12–13), and his instructing the (Christian) relative of the (non-Christian) priest of Artemis to say, λέγει σοι ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλος Ἰωάννης· Ἀνάστα, “John, the servant of God, says to you, ‘Arise’” (AJ^{RZ} 47.6–7).

Prayer Language

Prayer language will not be discussed at length in this chapter. As an aside, however, it is interesting to observe that while references to Jesus/God addressed to non-PLH characters generally seem to correspond with the Christian status of bystanders, prayer language does not correlate in the same way with auditors’ identity.⁸³ Most notably, John makes a reference to resuscitating Cleopatra ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “in the name of Jesus Christ” in a prayer uttered in the presence of a non-Christian crowd (AJ^{RZ} 22.20; cf. 22.1–3).⁸⁴ If the Christian status of bystanders in other non-PLH

⁸¹ This is a plausible reading even though there are no “my lord”/“your lord” juxtapositions in AJ^{RZ} akin to the “my god”/“your god” contrasts.

⁸² On connotations of the first person singular in AJ^{RZ}, including the two other modified references to “lord” (AJ^{RZ} 18.8–9; 28.5–6), see above, pp. 114–118.

⁸³ On the topic of prayer language in AJ and other early Christian Acts, Houghton’s article provides an entry point, although elements of his methodology are questionable (Hugh A. G. Houghton, “The Discourse of Prayer in the Major Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles,” *Apocrypha* 15 [2004]: 171–200). His conclusions draw on data from five different primary sources, and he relies without comment on modern eclectic texts. Cf. above, pp. 18–20.

⁸⁴ On this formula, see above, p. 122.

contexts has indeed influenced references to Jesus/God, this suggests that Jesus/God should not be considered an “absent” addressee.

That John’s speech patterns in prayer have generally not been determined by the Christian status of bystanders may also be suggested by forms of address he employs in prayer, although one must be careful not to assume that words have the same connotations as forms of address that they do referentially.⁸⁵ With that caveat, it is interesting to observe first of all that John uses “Jesus” and “lord” as forms of address for Jesus/God when there are non-Christian bystanders, and secondly that he invokes “the only god” in the presence of a Christian audience. These differ from John’s referential speech patterns when directly addressing these populations.

A full list of John’s forms of address in prayer is provided in Appendix C. In what follows, I will simply mention a few that are of immediate interest. First, it is to be observed that John’s forms of address in prayer sometimes differ from how he refers to Jesus/God with non-Christian addressees. Recall that when John speaks to the pre-Christian Cleopatra and Lycomedes, he typically employs modified “god” phrases. Yet in the same episode, he addresses Jesus/God as:

- κύριε, “Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 21.19, 20)
- Χριστέ, “Christ” (AJ^{RZ} 22.5, 11)
- ἰατρὲ δωρεὰν ἰωμένω, “doctor who heals for free” (AJ^{RZ} 22.5–6)
- Ἰησοῦ, “Jesus” (AJ^{RZ} 22.7)
- ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν τῶν ὅλων δεσπότην, “to you, the master of all” (AJ^{RZ} 22.8)
- βασιλεῦ, “king” (AJ^{RZ} 22.12) and
- κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, “lord Jesus Christ” (AJ^{RZ} 24.8).

The distinction could not be more clear.

John’s forms of address in prayer also sometimes differ from how he refers to Jesus/God when addressing established Christians. At Drusiana’s tomb, John calls upon ὁ θεὸς οὗ τὸ θέλημα τελειοῦται, ὁ ὑπακούων ἡμῶν πάντοτε, “God whose will is accomplished,

⁸⁵ See Dickey, “Forms of Address and Terms of Reference.” and above, p. 20.

who always hears us” (AJ^{RZ} 75.3–6), and he later invokes τὸν μόνον θεόν σε ὄντα...τὸν ὑπερμεγέθη, τὸν ἄφραστον, “the only god, the immensely great, inexpressible” (AJ^{RZ} 79.8–9). These invocations are noteworthy because they involve modified “god” phrases, in the latter case an expression that resembles how John speaks only when addressing non-Christian or unestablished Christian characters elsewhere in the narrative. Recall that John never speaks of “the only god” when addressing established Christians.

John’s invocations thus differ both from how he speaks to Christians and from how he speaks to non-Christians, which suggests that his forms of address in prayer are not governed by the same rules as third-person references to Jesus/God with either Christian or non-Christian addressees. Either Jesus/God is a unique addressee for whom a unique register of language is employed, therefore, or terms have different sociolinguistic connotations as forms of address than they do referentially in AJ^{RZ}, or, more likely, some combination of both factors is at work.

The examples cited above also make it unlikely that John’s invocations have been consistently influenced by the Christian status of bystanders. Non-Christians seem to be present when John invokes “Christ,” “Jesus,” “king,” and “doctor who heals for free” (cf. AJ^{RZ} 22.1–3), and when he calls upon “lord Jesus Christ” (cf. AJ^{RZ} 24.16–17). Furthermore, it is in the presence of a Christian audience that he invokes “the only god” (AJ^{RZ} 79.8–9). Even allowing for a discrepancy between vocative and referential use of terms, this still suggests that John’s invocations have not been consistently influenced by bystanders.

This does not rule out the possibility of bystander influence on individual invocations, of course. After the temple of Artemis collapses, for instance, John says, δόξα σοι, Ἰησοῦ μου ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας μόνος θεός, “Glory to you, my Jesus, the only god of truth” (AJ^{RZ} 43.2–3). Given the context, one could wonder whether his words have been influenced by the presence of the overhearing Ephesian crowd. After all, he has just been trying to convince them of the uniqueness of his god. Yet this may not be the best reading. Before raising Fortunatus, and with exclusively Christian overhearers, Drusiana offers an invocation that begins similarly, ὁ θεὸς τῶν αἰώνων, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, “God of the ages, Jesus Christ, god of truth” (AJ^{RZ} 82.3).

Similarly, one could wonder whether the presence of non-Christian bystanders is reflected in John's invocation of ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὑπὲρ πάντων λεγομένων θεῶν ὑπάρχων θεός..., "God, you who are god above all those called gods..." (AJ^{RZ} 41.1ff.) in the Artemis temple episode. This invocation may not reflect bystander influence, however. Recall that John also sometimes uses modified "god" phrases as forms of address in prayer when he has a Christian audience (AJ^{RZ} 75.3–6; 79.8–9; 112.1–2, 15). Overall, it is difficult to substantiate that bystanders have ever constrained John's invocations. If some bystander effect is at work in direct speech with other non-PLH addressees, this may suggest that Jesus/God should not be considered "absent."

Summary: References to Jesus/God in AJ^{RZ}

It will probably be helpful at this point to summarize the results of the chapter so far. First, we have seen that John's references to Jesus/God co-vary with Christian status when he has PLH addressees. When addressing non-Christian and unestablished Christian characters, he most frequently uses "god" phrases with clarifying modifiers such as "my god." John's "my" typically has an exclusive sense. When John addresses established Christians, on the other hand, he more frequently uses the unmodified "God" and other substantives such as "lord." He may also use the inclusive "we" or "our" in the latter context.

In addition to looking at John's speech patterns with PLH addressees, we have also surveyed references to Jesus/God by other characters, observing that they generally match how John speaks with the corresponding type of addressees.

Finally, we have seen that linguistic relationships differ somewhat when characters have non-PLH addressees and in prayers. It has been suggested that speech patterns in the former context may reflect some degree of bystander influence.

Excursus: "My God," "My Lord," and "Your God" in Other AJ Traditions

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the sociolinguistic relationships described above are not mirrored in all AJ traditions, and the following examples reaffirm the need to base analysis on single manuscripts rather than a reconstructed text, as well as contributing to the overall conclusion of the thesis that claims regarding the relationship

between speech patterns and social context should be evidence- rather than intuition-based. As remarked in chapter 2, if the social contexts in which ways of speaking appear differ even between versions of the same narrative, it is unlikely that contemporary readers would be able to intuit their significance accurately without analyzing comparative data from speech.

In AJ^{RZ}, the expression “my god” never appears in inter-Christian dialogue. In other AJ traditions, however, similar phrases do seem to appear in that context. In *Venet. Marc. gr.* 363 (M) and *Ochrida* 4 (O), Andronicus speaks to John of τῆς εἰς τὸν θεόν μου πίστεως (AJ 65.6–7). As remarked above, the presence of the second article suggests that this should probably be translated “faith in my god,” although “my faith in God” is also possible.⁸⁶ In the 14th- or 15th-century *Vat. Barber.* 516 (Y), meanwhile, John refers to ὁ κύριός μου καὶ θεός, “my lord and god” addressing “brothers” in his farewell address (AJ 107.7). Although one could possibly interpret his words as “my lord, and God,” interpreting them as “my lord and my god” is more plausible.⁸⁷ There are also two other possible references to “my god” in extant AJ traditions, although the form of the pronoun differs in these instances, and the expressions probably do not have the same sense as “my god” in AJ^{RZ}. I mention them here simply in the interests of thoroughness. In *Vindob. hist. gr.* 63 (C), John may tell a group of “brothers” that “the Lord” was ἐμοῦ δὲ καὶ τῆς Δρουσύνης ἐγκεκλεισμένων θεός, “god of me and of Drusiana when we were confined” (AJ 103.12)—if the singular genitives are taken with “god” rather than with the verb ἀκούει, “he hears,” which precedes the phrase. In the former case, the parallel between “me” and “Drusiana” would suggest that John employs the personal pronoun to make a statement about his experience at a particular point in time rather

⁸⁶ See above, pp. 115–117. There are no other extant instances of “my god” in inter-Christian dialogue in either AJ^M or AJ^O. One would need to consult other John narratives in these manuscripts to get a fuller sense of their linguistic patterns. On AJ^M, see above, p. 121 n. 77. In AJ^M, the narrator also uses a modified “god” phrase unparalleled in AJ^{RZ}, announcing that Drusiana glorified τὸν θεὸν τὸν διὰ τοῦ θεράποντος αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου ποιοῦντα ἔνδοξά τε καὶ ἐξάίσια ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν εἰκασμός, “(the) god doing incomparably notable and extraordinary things through his servant John” (AJ^M 80.2).

⁸⁷ To establish the significance of John’s words, one would like to examine the AJPr portions of this manuscript. This is the only time in AJ^Y’s Metastasis that John uses a singular pronoun to modify a reference to Jesus/God, and there are occurrences of “our” addressed to the “brothers” (AJ^Y 106.6, 9) and in prayer (AJ^Y 108.2; 112.10).

than to clarify the identity of his referent. Secondly, when John asks Lycomedes, “Which of your gods is the one painted here?,” the latter replies in most Nicaean Council manuscripts, ὁ θεὸς μὲν μοί ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος μόνος ὁ ἐμὲ ἐγείρας ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου (AJ 27.14–15). The presence of the dative pronoun suggests that this statement should be interpreted as “For me, God is only that one who raised me from death.”⁸⁸

More striking than these possible references to “my god” in inter-Christian dialogue are references to “my lord” in other AJ traditions, references that do not seem to have the same distancing overtones as “my” or “my god” in AJ^{RZ}. As we have seen, John refers to “my lord and god” addressing established Christians at AJ^Y 107.7. In AJ^C, meanwhile, John mentions ὁ κύριός μου, “my lord” to established Christian “brothers” twice in a scene not included in AJ^{RZ} (AJ 92.6, 7; cf. AJ 88.1), and an instance of the latter also appears in some witnesses of the Nicaean Council (MT^{nic}, An^{nic}) (AJ 97.7).⁸⁹ Literary context in the latter cases shows that these instances of “my lord” cannot have the same distancing overtones as “my” and “my god” in AJ^{RZ}. John refers to “the Lord” in an unmodified form before (AJ 91.1, 3; 97.1; cf. 91.4) and after (AJ 98.3) his modified references, and context does not clarify what has motivated the change in form. The word “my” thus seems to have different connotations in these traditions than in AJ^{RZ}.⁹⁰

Finally, in some AJ traditions John also refers in the plural to “your god” in inter-Christian dialogue, an expression he never uses in that context in AJ^{RZ}.

- According to AJ^{RZ}, John speaks to some “brothers” in the Metastasis of ὁ ἀγαθὸς θεός, “the good god” (AJ^R 107.1). In AJ^{UXHOT}, John refers to ὁ ἀγαθὸς ὑμῶν θεός, “your good god.”⁹¹

⁸⁸ Lycomedes is certainly not trying to distinguish between his god and John’s.

⁸⁹ AJ^C and AJ (V^{nic}) read ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, “our lord” at that point. On the possibility that AJ 94–102 represent an interpolation, see above, p. 91. The provenance of these passages has no import for the present discussion.

⁹⁰ There are no “my lord”/“your lord” contrasts in AJ^C, AJ^Y, or the Nicaean traditions. Interestingly, in the latter John utters two oaths in the presence of Lycomedes. Before seeing himself in a mirror, he exclaims τὸν κύριόν σου, “your lord” (AJ 28.3); and after, ζῆ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, “as lord Jesus Christ lives” (AJ 28.5–6). This pair of oaths has no implications for the connotations of “my lord.”

⁹¹ There are several variants. Manuscripts EVJY have “the good god,” while DGAP read ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἡμῶν θεός, “our good god.”

- At the end of the same long phrase, where AJ^{RZ} reads Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, “Jesus Christ,” AJ^P reads ὑμῶν θεὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, “your god Jesus Christ” (AJ 107.5).⁹²
- Later in the speech according to AJ^{RZ}, John refers to τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν τὰ ἐνέχυρα, “the pledges of our god” (AJ^{RZ} 107.13), but in AJ^{UA} τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν τὰ ἐνέχυρα, “the pledges of your god.”⁹³

John’s speaking of “your god” in inter-Christian dialogue is unparalleled in AJ^{RZ}, although he admittedly does sometimes use second person plurals addressing Christians in that tradition. Some such instances are exclusive (AJ^{RZ} 58.10–11; 106.6, 11–18; 107.10, 13; 111.3–5), while others appear in contexts where he could have employed “we” or “our” (AJ^{RZ} 68.1; 107.13–18; 110.5 [Z]).⁹⁴ Although the plural “you” does sometimes appear in inter-Christian dialogue in AJ^{RZ}, however, it is still interesting that John never refers to “your god” addressing Christian characters in that tradition, while such references do occur in other AJ traditions.⁹⁵ This is thus yet another linguistic difference between AJ traditions as recorded in the various manuscripts.

Forms of Address

Returning to AJ^{RZ}, let us now consider a final linguistic variable, forms of address. We will see that certain forms of address correlate with the Christian status of John’s addressees.

Plural Forms of Address

When John addresses groups of established Christians, he uses kinship terms and terms of endearment:

- ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (AJ^{RZ} 58.4; 86.3–4; 106.14; 107.10)
- ἀγαπητοί, “beloved,” (AJ^{RZ} 110.5)

⁹² DX read Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, “Jesus Christ”; UHT θεὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, “God, Jesus Christ”; B θεός, “God”; O ἡμῶν θεὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, “our god Jesus Christ”; and A θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, “our god Jesus Christ” (AJ 107.5).

⁹³ DXBHOPT(W)EV agree with RZ.

⁹⁴ Both “we” and “you” forms appear in AJ^{RZ} 106–107.

⁹⁵ John also uses the plural “you” addressing non-Christian characters in AJ^{RZ} (AJ^{RZ} 25.5; 33.1–36.13; 38.4; 39.1–15; 40.4–9; 43.4–7; 45.1–10; 50.2). It is not clear why a plural appears at AJ^{RZ} 50.2.

- τέκνα, “children” (AJ^{RZ} 111.4) and
- ἀδελφοί καὶ συγκληρονόμοι καὶ συμμέτοχοι τῆς τοῦ κυρίου βασιλείας, “brothers and co-heirs and partners of the Lord’s kingdom (AJ^{RZ} 106.3–5).

The groups addressed above are all labeled “brothers” by the narrator (AJ^{RZ} 58.2; 86.3; 106.1–3).⁹⁶

When John addresses groups not consisting of established Christians, on the other hand, his forms of address differ. He addresses a crowd gathered at the Ephesian theatre—a crowd that still needs to “convert” (AJ^{RZ} 33.6–7; 36.10)—as ἄνδρες Ἐφεσίοι, “Ephesians” (AJ^{RZ} 33.1; 36.10), and he addresses groups at the temple of Artemis as ἄνδρες Ἐφεσίοι, “Ephesians” (AJ^{RZ} 39.1, 8–9; 43.5) and ἄνδρες, “men” (AJ^{RZ} 45.1). Interestingly, two of the latter addresses occur after the crowd has affirmed that “John’s god is one” (AJ^{RZ} 42.7). Note also that the narrator does not refer to the Ephesians as ἀδελφοί, “brothers” until the next scene (AJ^{RZ} 46.6).

John also uses a somewhat more intriguing form of address at the beginning of the latter episode. According to RZ, John addresses a group of would-be murderers as ἄνδρες δοῦλοι τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ, “men who are servants of the only god” (AJ^{RZ} 38.4–5). At first glance, this form of address seems unlikely, which has led Junod and Kaestli, following Bonnet, to emend the phrase to read, Μεμῆνατε ἐπιχειροῦντες ἐμοί, ἄνδρες, δούλω τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ, “Men, you are crazy to lay hands on me, servant of the only god.” It is conceivable, however, that AJ^{RZ} intends for John to call them “servants,” since this would not be the only occasion when John speaks of a latent Christian identity that he hopes will soon emerge. In the immediately preceding scene, John says to some Christian companions:

ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ναῷ πορευθῶμεν. τάχα γὰρ κακεῖ ἡμῶν ὀφθέντων εὐρεθήσονται τοῦ κυρίου οἱ δοῦλοι.

⁹⁶ On the significance of “brothers” as a referential term, see above, pp. 96. AJ^C attests similar usage: John uses the addresses ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (AJ^C 88.1), ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (AJ^C 90.18; 93.1, 14; 103.1, 10), and ἀγαπητοί, “beloved” (AJ^C 97.1; 104.1). At AJ 97.1, C M^{mic} read ἀγαπητοί μου, “my beloved.” According to the narrator, John’s addressees throughout the section are ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (AJ 105.1).

Let us go to the temple of Artemis, because the servants of the Lord may also be found there if we appear. (AJ^{RZ} 37.6–7)

When John addresses his would-be murderers at the temple as “servants of the only god,” he could well be identifying them as these “servants of the Lord.” It is also worth noting that John uses a similar expression later in the episode, again referring to non-Christian characters: he speaks to the Ephesians of going to Smyrna ὅπως καὶ οἱ ἐκεῖ δοῦλοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιστρέψουσιν πρὸς αὐτόν, “so that the servants of Christ there will also be converted to him” (AJ^{RZ} 45.3–4). John thus makes several references to a latent Christian identity in the narrative, and his calling non-Christians “servants of the only god” is therefore entirely plausible.⁹⁷ For present purposes, note finally that it contrasts the kinship terms and terms of endearment John uses when addressing groups of Christians in other scenes, and that John’s plural forms of address in AJ^{RZ} thus co-vary with the Christian status of his addressees.

Singular Forms of Address

John’s singular forms of address vary similarly. He addresses Lycomedes and Cleopatra by name throughout the episode describing their conversion (AJ^{RZ} 21.7; 23.13; 24.15–16; 27.11; 29.1), and once uses the expression ἄνθρωπε, “man” (AJ^{RZ} 24.22), but he employs the kinship expressions ἀγαπητόν μου τέκνον, “my beloved child” (AJ^{RZ} 27.5) and τέκνον, “child” only when Lycomedes begins to show signs of Christian identity (AJ^{RZ} 28.2, 6–7). Similarly, John only addresses the parricide as τέκνον, “child” near the end of the episode (AJ^{RZ} 54.9). Earlier he had called the young man ταλαίπωρε, “miserable one” (AJ^{RZ} 51.3).⁹⁸ Finally, note that the only other characters John calls τέκνον, “child” are the priest’s relative (AJ^{RZ} 46.19; 47.5) and Callimachus (AJ^{RZ} 78.2; 81.10, 18–19), both of whom show markers of Christian identity. John never uses

⁹⁷ On the theme of latent Christian identity, see Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 433–34, and cf. AJ^{RZ} 18.10; 22.14–19; 30.15–17; 75. Proleptic “servant” language also appears at AJ^{RZ} 19.11, in reference to Cleopatra (cf. AJ^{RZ} 23.10); at AJ^{RZ} 75.2–3, in reference to Callimachus (cf. AJ^{RZ} 81.19); and implicitly also at AJ^{RZ} 43.3, in reference to the Ephesian crowd. Other characters referred to as “servants” of Jesus/God in AJ^{RZ} are John (AJ^{RZ} 19.13; 47.6–7; 51.5–6; 74.4; 76.21; 110.7–8), Andronicus (AJ^{RZ} 82.9), Drusiana (AJ^{RZ} 82.10), and Christians in general (AJ^{RZ} 60.12–13; 85.11; 108.5, 13). John also calls the priest of Artemis her “servant” (AJ^{RZ} 43.8).

⁹⁸ He also uses νεανίσκε, “young man” as a form of address (AJ^{RZ} 54.3).

“child” with clearly non-Christian addressees, and this form of address thus correlates with Christian identity.⁹⁹

Reading AJ^{RZ} in Light of Sociolinguistic Patterns

Based on the linguistic survey above, a few illustrations will now be provided of ways in which sociolinguistic relationships shed light on social dynamics, contribute to characterization and the development of literary themes, and inform the question of the implied and intended audience.

Social Dynamics

One social dynamic highlighted by the sociolinguistic relationships analyzed is the narrative’s implicit portrayal of Christians as a social group distinguishable from wider society. Although the boundaries of Christian identity may be somewhat “fuzzy,” the fact that John is portrayed as speaking differently to Christian and non-Christian populations shows that he is in some way differentiating between them. A similar

⁹⁹ On τέκνον, “child,” as a form of address for unrelated persons, see Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address*, 65–72; and Dickey, “Greek Address System,” 513. Dickey observes that first name address is quite common in classical literature (*Greek Forms of Address*, 43–50): “The first rule of address in Greek is to use FN whenever possible” (ibid., 49). It is much more rare in Roman era papyri (Dickey, “Greek Address System,” 501). According to Dickey, in classical literature ἄνθρωπε, “man” is either neutral or denotes surprise depending on whether the speaker knows the addressee (see *Greek Forms of Address*, 150–54): “It also happens, although rarely, that ἄνθρωπε is used between people who know each other as an expression of amazement and surprise at the conduct of the addressee. It could be that the speaker is so surprised at the behaviour of the addressee that he addresses him as if he were a stranger, since he is acting like one” (ibid., 152). Although AJ^{RZ} is from a later time period, one notes that when John addresses Lycomedes as “man,” the latter has just tried to kiss his feet, an action that John rejects as inappropriate. “Amazement and surprise” at Lycomedes’ conduct could certainly be in view. Cf. Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 443.

The only other plural vocative John uses in AJ^{RZ} is ὦ κόριδες, “bedbugs” (AJ^{RZ} 60.10). Other speakers primarily address one another by name (AJ^{RZ} 19.8–9; 20.9, 11, 13; 76.19; 81.5; 83.2), although Callimachus addresses the dead Drusiana as ταλαίπωρε Δρουσιανή, “miserable Drusiana” (AJ^{RZ} 70.14). John is sometimes addressed by name (AJ^{RZ} 18.8; 40.3; 44.6; 74.10; 79.3; cf. 113.3, 6), and also receives a variety of titles: δοῦλε τοῦ φανερώσαντός μοι θεοῦ σαυτόν, “servant of the god who revealed you to me” (AJ^{RZ} 19.13–14 [R μοι, Z με]); κύριε, “Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 20.3; 46.20; 52.5 [probably addresses John]); δέσποτα, “master” (AJ^{RZ} 23.9 [probably addresses John]; 24.13); πάτερ, “Father” (AJ^{RZ} 27.16; 81.2); πάτερ Ἰωάννη, “Father John” (AJ^{RZ} 65.5–6); ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζώντος, “man of the living god” (AJ^{RZ} 52.7–8); μακάριε δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰωάννη, “John, blessed servant of God” (AJ^{RZ} 74.3–4); and δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ, “servant of God” (AJ^{RZ} 76.21). On titles of John, see ibid., 274–77 n. 76.2.

distinction also appears at a narrative level when one examines differences between John's speech patterns and those of non-Christian characters. The fact that Christians and non-Christians are socially distinct is manifested by how they speak. Like Acts^B, therefore, AJ^{RZ} depicts Christians as a group distinguishable from wider society, and it does this in part by employing variation in speech.

Themes and Theological Viewpoints

Sociolinguistic dynamics in AJ^{RZ} also serve to develop themes and theological viewpoints. I have already mentioned the narrative's portrayal of conversion as a process, a theme that is especially evident in the Artemis temple episode. In that episode, John speaks to the Ephesians of "my god" both at the beginning of the action, and after they declare themselves "converted." After they join him at Andronicus' house for teaching, "the eucharist," and prayer, however, his speech patterns change. Now he refers to "God" in an unmodified form, and also mentions "the Lord" and "Jesus Christ." The most interesting aspect of this episode linguistically is that John's speech patterns do not shift immediately after the Ephesians verbally "convert." In light of other speech patterns in the narrative, this heightens a portrayal of the Ephesians as being in a transitional phase of faith, and variation in John's references to Jesus/God thus helps the narrative to depict conversion as a process. The latter theme is also reflected in John's forms of address. In the middle part of the episode, John calls the Ephesians "men," an address that contrasts the kinship terms and terms of endearment he typically uses when addressing established Christians elsewhere in the narrative.

Another character whose speech patterns draw attention to the theme of conversion as a process is Callimachus. In a speech ending with an announcement that he is "going to believe," Callimachus speaks to John of "God" (AJ^{RZ} 76.21, 22), "your god" (AJ^{RZ} 76.25–26), and "Christ" (AJ^{RZ} 76.36). His reference to "your god" resembles language used by non-Christian and unestablished Christian characters elsewhere in the narrative, and differs significantly from inter-Christian dialogue. Combined with other evidence, this way of speaking characterizes him as not yet an established Christian, despite his clear intention to convert.

The theme of conversion as a process is especially interesting because it differs from how conversion is portrayed in the Acts^B. Setting aside for the moment the question of how the author/redactor of the latter may have conceived of conversion theoretically, one notes that within the narrative of Acts^B, Christian identity is generally depicted as a discrete status that is attained more or less instantaneously. For many characters, Acts^B speaks as if there is a particular moment when they are “saved.” This contrasts AJ^{RZ}, where Christian status is portrayed less as a discrete identity acquired instantaneously, and more as a process of identification that takes time to come about. For this thesis, it is especially interesting that this difference between the narratives is also highlighted by attention to sociolinguistic relationships, since no clear linguistic distinction is made between established and unestablished Christians in Acts^B, at least according to the variables analyzed in this thesis. Christian conversion is thus portrayed differently in the two narratives, and the difference is evidenced linguistically.¹⁰⁰

Characterization

Sociolinguistic relationships also contribute to characterization. We have just seen how Callimachus’ referring to “your god” contributes to a characterization of him as being in a transitional stage of faith. Another way linguistic relationships contribute to characterization is in the narrative’s portrayal of the apostle John. Recall that John’s references to Jesus/God co-vary with the Christian status of his addressees. When addressing non-Christian or unestablished Christian characters, he often refers to “my god,” or uses other language that seems designed to clarify the identity of the referent. This contrasts how John speaks in inter-Christian dialogue, in ways that suggest he is depicted as intentionally accommodating his language for non-Christian addressees. Although a purely linguistic study cannot provide conclusive proof as to John’s motivations, it seems likely that he is being portrayed as adjusting his language in the

¹⁰⁰ In AJ^{RZ}, the need for Christians to persevere is also mooted (e.g., AJ^{RZ} 67–69). Andronicus speaks of “doubting” his faith, and John warns Christian “brothers” about the dangers of returning to old sinful patterns (e.g., AJ^{RZ} 107.16–18). Similar concerns are also mentioned in Acts^B, where wealth trips up apparently Christian characters on two occasions (Ananias and Sapphira, and Simon of Samaria), the apostles revisit churches they have founded, and Paul warns Ephesian elders of “wolves” (Acts^B 20). Cf. Acts^B 11:23; 13:43; 14:22; 15:41; and Stenschke, *Luke’s Portrait*, 337–52.

interests of clear communication, that he is “promoting communicative efficiency.”¹⁰¹ Since he seems to employ this strategy particularly when addressing non-Christian characters, his speech patterns thus contribute to the narrative’s characterization of him as taking his apostolic identity and evangelistic mission seriously, seriously enough that it affects the way he speaks.

Implied and Intended Audience

Finally, let us consider how speech patterns inform the question of implied and intended audience. As in the previous chapter, we will examine how the narrator’s references to Jesus/God compare with those in direct speech.

The narrator makes eight unmodified references to “God” (AJ^{RZ} 36.14; 52.11; 54.14; 80.6; 83.7; 110.7–8; 111.6, 8), and one reference to τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, “our god” (AJ^{RZ} 26.11). The narrator also refers seven times to “the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 22.3–4; 43.2; 48.7–8; 51.5–6; 86.2; 106.2; 110.2), and once each to:

- ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος, “the apostle of Christ” (AJ^{RZ} 26.10)
- πιστεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν, “having believed in the lord Jesus” (AJ^{RZ} 47.14) and
- τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the power of our lord Jesus Christ” (at AJ 115.3).

The frequency of “lord,” the unmodified references to “God,” and the use of first person plurals most closely resemble how John speaks when addressing established Christians. It is also noteworthy that in addition to a narratorial “we” indicating that the narrator was present when events occurred (AJ^{RZ} 18.7; 19.1–2; 60–62; 72–73; 110.1; 111.8; 115.3), there are also instances of “we” that seem to include the implied audience (AJ^{RZ} 26.11; 115.3).¹⁰² Based on these linguistic factors, one is led to the conclusion that AJ^{RZ} has a primarily Christian implied audience.

¹⁰¹ For this terminology, see above, p. 31.

¹⁰² The narrator’s possible reference to “our brother” (AJ^{RZ} 111.3) may or may not include the implied audience; there seem to be textual issues. On the narratorial “we” in AJ, see Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 75–81; and Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 530–33.

It probably also had a Christian intended audience, for reasons explained in chapter 1.¹⁰³ The narrative shows metalinguistic awareness by having John speak differently to non-Christian and established Christian addressees. It also seems to portray linguistic accommodation as part of John's apostolic strategy.¹⁰⁴ Together, these factors make it unlikely that the narrative itself, if intended for a non-Christian audience, would not have used language resembling how Christians speak to non-Christians within the narrative. Since the narrator speaks as if to a Christian audience, this therefore suggests that AJ^{RZ} was also intended for Christian eyes and ears.

Although this does not mean that other AJ traditions had the same implied or intended audience, it does present a challenge to those who claim that AJ and similar narratives were composed for evangelistic purposes, a not uncommon proposal. Several interpreters have suggested that AJ would have had evangelistic appeal: János Bolyki suggests that the miracle stories contributed to the function of AJ as "missionary propaganda." Jan Bremmer remarks, "The prominent position of the women will...have had a certain missionary appeal among Greek and Roman women." Lalleman suggests that the text is "propaganda...aimed at non-Christians." Junod and Kaestli draw on the themes of conversion and strengthening of faith to posit an intended audience of both Christians and pagans.¹⁰⁵ Finally, with regard to early Christian Acts more generally, Richard Bauckham suggests they may have been written primarily for evangelistic purposes and only secondarily for edification of Christians.¹⁰⁶ This thesis, however, suggests

¹⁰³ See above, p. 29.

¹⁰⁴ This is despite the possibility of "latent" Christian identity.

¹⁰⁵ Bolyki, "Miracle Stories," 34–35, Bremmer, "Women," 53–54; cf. Bremmer, "The Apocryphal Acts: Authors, Place, Time and Readership," 167–68; Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 49; Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 684–89. In an earlier article, Junod and Kaestli only mentioned a Christian intended audience (Junod and Kaestli, "Les traits," 141).

¹⁰⁶ Richard Bauckham, "Imaginative Literature," in *The Early Christian World*, ed. Philip F. Esler (London: Routledge, 2000), 806–808. Rhee suggests they were intended both to appeal to "outsiders" and to edify Christians (Helen Rhee, *Early Christian Literature: Christ and Culture in the Second and Third Centuries* [London: Routledge, 2005], 38). Davies posits a purely Christian intended audience as part of his conception of AJ, etc., as originating from "communities of continent Christian women" (Davies, *Revolt*, 50), but this conception is problematic on non-linguistic grounds. For brief surveys of scholarly positions on the intended purpose of apostolic narratives as entertainment literature, educational literature, community building literature, etc., see Els Rose, *Ritual Memory: The Apocryphal Acts and Liturgical Commemoration in the Early Medieval West (c. 500–1215)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 39–42; Schäferdiek, "Johannesakten," 74–81.

differently. As we have seen, linguistic patterns in AJ^{RZ} suggest that it, at least, was intended for an established Christian audience, and an evangelistic purpose for the narrative is thus not supported by the linguistic evidence considered in this chapter.

Conclusion

In addition to the particular interpretive results discussed above, the sociolinguistic relationships observed in this chapter once again support the broader conceptual and methodological conclusions suggested at the end of chapter 2. It has been observed that sociolinguistic relationships differ between manuscripts of AJ, suggesting that claims regarding these relationships need to be established through careful comparative analysis rather than based on intuition alone, and the chapter's results once again indicate that there are social as well as referential or theological aspects to the "meaning" of the expressions analyzed. The following comments of Junod and Kaestli could therefore be further nuanced:

Lorsqu'il s'adresse à Dieu ou qu'il parle de lui, Jean dit fréquemment: mon Dieu, mon Seigneur, mon Jésus. Ce possessif ne marque ni la familiarité, ni un quelconque rapport de possession, mais la dépendance de l'apôtre envers Dieu. Il est le héraut d'un Dieu précis, son Dieu. Et ses auditeurs ne trompent pas, qui parlent du <<Dieu de Jean>> ou du <<Dieu que Jean annonce>>.

When he addresses God or speaks about him, John frequently says: my God, my Lord, my Jesus. The possessive marks neither familiarity nor any relationship of possession, but the apostle's dependence on God. He is the herald of a specific

For a view of AJ and other Acts as encouraging fervor and spiritual formation in ascetic groups, cf. also A. Hamman, "'Sitz im Leben' des actes apocryphes du Nouveau Testament," *Studia Patristica* 8 (1966): 68–69. For a view of AJ as propaganda for a particular form of Christianity, to be read by other Christians, see Sirker-Wicklaus, *Untersuchungen*, 232–33. On the question of whether these texts were intended for a "popular" audience, see Kim Haines-Eitzen, "The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles on Papyrus: Revisiting the Question of Readership and Audience," in *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World*, ed. Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 293–304; Bremmer, "Women," 51–52; Susan A. Stephens, "Who Read Ancient Novels?," in *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, ed. James Tatum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 405–18; Ewen L. Bowie, "The Readership of Greek Novels in the Ancient World," in *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, ed. James Tatum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 435–59; cf. Eric Junod, "'Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament': une appellation erronée et une collection artificielle. Discussion de la nouvelle définition proposée par W. Schneemelcher," *Apocrypha* 3 (1992): 32; Bovon and Geoltrain, *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens, I*, xlii–xliv.

God, his God. Nor are his hearers incorrect who speak of “John’s God” or “the God that John announces.”¹⁰⁷

Although their theological point has merit, this chapter has shown that the expressions Junod and Kaestli cite have more complex layers of meaning than they may have realized. The expressions “my god,” “my lord,” and “my Jesus” all evoke a particular relationship between John and Jesus/God, but they have different social connotations, at least in AJ^{RZ}. It is important to notice that the expressions are never used in the same social contexts. John uses “my Jesus” only as a vocative phrase, in which context “my” may well express the closeness of his relationship with his addressee.¹⁰⁸ When John refers to “my god,” on the other hand, he is addressing other characters, and “my” seems to have exclusive, outward-facing overtones. We have seen that usage of the expression “my god” correlates with social distance between John and his addressees, none of whom are established Christians. Furthermore, drawing linguistic conclusions from Junod and Kaestli’s remarks about “my lord” would be problematic on textual grounds. The instances they cite (AJ 52 and 92) are drawn from two distinct AJ traditions, in which “my lord” does not appear in the same social contexts. “My lord” may be distancing language when John uses it with the murdered father, in an episode that appears in AJ^{RZ} (AJ^{RZ} 52), but it does not appear to be distancing when John speaks this way to “brothers” in AJ^C (AJ^C 92).¹⁰⁹ In summary, it would be misleading from a linguistic perspective to say that John “frequently” speaks in the ways Junod and Kaestli cite, as if these expressions all had the same socio-semantic range. To fully understand what the expressions mean, and how they function in the narrative, one must take the social context of their use into account.

The next chapter will continue to explore the interpretive benefits of approaching ancient texts from a sociolinguistic perspective, as well as the need to establish linguistic claims with care, by examining the relationship between speech patterns and social context in the Acts of Philip. As we will see, sociolinguistic relationships in the latter tradition support a conclusion that the extant text is in fact a collected narrative.

¹⁰⁷ They cite AJ 23, 43, 52, 92. Junod and Kaestli, “Les traits,” 139.

¹⁰⁸ See above, p. 117.

¹⁰⁹ See above, p. 130.

Chapter 4: Speech Patterns and Social Context in the *Acts of Philip*

This chapter explores the relationship between speech patterns and social context in the Acts of Philip (APh). It shows that linguistic patterns differ between sections, confirming evidence that the extant text is a collected narrative and shedding light on compositional and redactional processes. In several episodes, it is argued that linguistic relationships mirror multi-dimensional and graded constructions of Christian identity, with more required for full Christian status than simply “belief.” The chapter also explores how ways of speaking relate to “Jewish” and “Hebrew” identities. In addition to these particular illustrations of how systematic attention to the relationship between speech patterns and social context enhances interpretation of APh, the chapter’s results also lead toward the same conceptual and methodological conclusions already mooted in chapters 2 and 3: that social factors including addressee identity should be considered whenever the significance of expressions in an ancient text is discussed, and that claims regarding sociolinguistic relationships should be evidence- rather than intuition-based.¹

The Text

As background for the discussion of compositional processes, it will be helpful to begin by surveying extant manuscripts and what they represent.

Manuscripts of APh

Linguistic analysis in this chapter is based on a single manuscript tradition, that of 14th century *Xenophontos* 32. The *Xenophontos* tradition has been selected because it represents the longest extant version of APh. It originally included fifteen “acts” and a Martyrdom, although most of APh 2 and 8, all of APh 9 and 10, and the beginning of

¹ For an English version of APh and a brief, readable introduction, see François Bovon and Christopher R. Matthews, *The Acts of Philip: A New Translation* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012). For a French version and introduction, see François Bovon, Bertrand Bouvier, and Frédéric Amsler, *Acta Philippi: Textus* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999); or Bovon and Geoltrain, *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens, I*. Because each of these versions draws on multiple manuscripts, they provide only an approximation of the narrative examined in this chapter.

Aph 11 are now missing from the manuscript. Nevertheless, it remains the longest witness to the Acts of Philip tradition.

Besides *Xenophon* 32, many Greek witnesses to the Martyrdom exist, and there are also six extant Greek manuscripts that include other episodes. Eleventh century *Vaticanus graecus* 866² and *Ambrosianus graecus* 405 only include what is now Aph 2; tenth century *Parisinus graecus* 881 contains the Martyrdom followed by Aph 2; fifteenth century *Atheniensis* 346 includes Aph 8 and the Martyrdom; and eleventh century *Vaticanus graecus* 824 contains Aph 1–9 and the Martyrdom.³

A comparison of Aph in *Xen.* 32 (henceforth, “Aph^A”⁴) with the traditions of other manuscripts highlights the importance of analyzing each tradition separately rather than basing linguistic analysis on a reconstructed text. Where these manuscripts overlap, they attest similarity but also difference, diverging both at the word and phrase level and in content. Comparing Aph^A with the tradition of *Vaticanus graecus* 824 (Aph^V), for instance, one sees that Aph^V lacks major elements such as a tour of hell in Aph 1 and Jesus’ manifestation through an eagle in Aph 3. Other appearances of Jesus included in Aph^A 3–7 are also lacking in Aph^V (e.g., Aph 4.2; 5.13, 19), Philip’s speeches and prayers in those acts are less extensive (e.g., Aph 4.3; 5.3–4, 25), and some ascetic elements such as fasting and dietary restrictions are absent (e.g., Aph 4.3; 5.26; 6.5, 22). In these acts, Aph^V also shows greater concern for church organization (e.g., Aph^V 6.22; 7.5) and the Trinity (e.g., Aph^V 3.18; 6.22; 7.7), and titles of Jesus sometimes differ (e.g., Aph^V 1.4.2; 6.12.4–5). In the Martyrdom, they diverge even more extensively.⁵ Overall, the

² This is the date given by Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler, *Acta Philippi*, xxiii.

³ For a description of the manuscripts, see *ibid.*, xiii–xxx; and François Bovon, “Les Actes de Philippe,” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 25.6, ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 4468–75. For information on Greek summaries, other language versions, and ancient references to Aph, see *ibid.*, 4437–56; and Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler, *Acta Philippi*, xxxvi–xxxix. The work appears to be mentioned in the Gelasian Decree (6th c.).

⁴ Manuscript sigla follow the CChrSA critical edition.

⁵ Commentators observe that Aph^A shows less evidence of orthodox redaction overall (Amsler, *Commentarius*, 3–4 and *passim*; Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4492; François Bovon, “Women Priestesses in the Apocryphal Acts of Philip,” in *Walk in the Ways of Wisdom: Essays in Honor of Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza*, ed. Shelly Matthews, Cynthia Briggs Kittredge, and Melanie Johnson-DeBaufre [Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2003], 109–10; cf. Joseph Flamion, “Les trois

differences are so significant that it is best to think of these manuscripts as representing distinct witnesses to a dynamic, developing Acts of Philip tradition rather than as giving access to a single Acts of Philip “text.”

Compositional Processes

Thinking of the Acts of Philip as a “text” is problematic not only from a redactional perspective but also from a compositional one. Based on differences between episodes, it is widely agreed that the “Acts of Philip” we know today incorporates several independent written traditions rather than representing an originally unified composition.⁶ Commentators have even suggested that episodes may have concerned two different persons named “Philip” in their earliest forms.⁷

Later in the chapter, linguistic evidence will be considered for the claim that APh^A is a collected narrative, and it will be shown that speech patterns corroborate the consensus that some episodes had independent origins. The exact number of such pieces is debated, with researchers typically identifying between four and six independent sections. There is general consensus based on plot that APh 8–15 and the Martyrdom form a literary unit, and that APh 5–7 also belong together.⁸ In his commentary, Frédéric Amsler

recensions grecques du martyre de l’apôtre Philippe,” in *Mélanges d’histoire offerts à Charles Moeller* [Louvain – Paris: Bureau du Recueil, 1914], 1: 215–25; Richard N. Slater, “An Inquiry into the Relationship Between Community and Text: The Apocryphal Acts of Philip 1 and the Encratites of Asia Minor,” in *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: Harvard Divinity School Studies*, ed. François Bovon, Ann Graham Brock, and Christopher R. Matthews [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999], 286–89).

⁶ This has long been observed, e.g., by H. O. Stölten, “Zur Philippuslegende,” *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* 17 (1891): 153; Richard Adelbert Lipsius, “Zu den Acten des Philippus,” *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* 17 (1891): 468; James, *Apocryphal NT*, 453.

⁷ Amsler argues that APh 3–7 originally concerned Philip the Hellenist (Evangelist), whereas APh 1 and 8ff. were originally about Philip the apostle (*Commentarius*, 129, 145–51, 285, 429–31). Thus also Bovon (“Women,” 110–11; “Facing the Scriptures: Mimesis and Intertextuality in the Acts of Philip,” in *New Testament and Christian Apocrypha: Collected Studies II* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009], 276; cf. “Les Actes,” 4480). Matthews questions the identification of Philip, but agrees on the composite nature of the text (Christopher R. Matthews, *Philip, Apostle and Evangelist: Configurations of a Tradition* [Leiden: Brill, 2002], 165, 170–71). All three commentators agree that the final version does not distinguish two Philips (see, e.g., Amsler, *Commentarius*, 5–7; cf. Stölten, “Zur Philippuslegende,” 150). Peterson also suggests that Philip is depicted as becoming an apostle in APh 3 (Erik Peterson, “Zum Messalianismus der Philippus-Akten,” *Oriens Christianus* 7 [1932]: 176 n. 2).

⁸ Amsler, *Commentarius*, 295, 430–33; Matthews, *Philip*, 164–65; Bovon, “Facing the Scriptures,” 276; Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4483; Aurelio de Santos Otero, “Jüngere Apostelakten,” in

argues further that APh 3 and 4 cohere with APh 5–7, although François Bovon and Christopher Matthews wonder if the former may have independent origins.⁹ In my opinion, the abrupt change of venue between APh 4 and APh 5, the lack of any necessarily interconnected features of plot, and certain linguistic and social dynamics to be explored below make an independent origin for APh 5–7 likely. Whether APh 3 and APh 4 also have independent origins is more difficult to say, but both APh 1 and APh 2 probably have unique origins given their idiosyncratic content, the independent circulation of APh 2 in the manuscript tradition, and distinctive linguistic features of APh 1.¹⁰ More information on linguistic particularities will be provided later in the chapter.

The chapter will also discuss linguistic evidence for redaction within one of the episodes, APh^A 8ff. We will see that although consistency of plot suggests that APh 8–15 and the Martyrdom were originally composed together, both the content of the episode in APh^A and certain sociolinguistic relationships point to a complex compositional history. One piece of evidence for this history is the fact that the Martyrdom in APh^A begins with an introduction that sets the scene for coming events. Similar introductions in manuscripts that do not contain the preceding acts serve an evident function, but in APh^A, which includes the preceding acts, this introduction is a superfluous intrusion into the narrative and appears to be an artifact of transmission history, tracing to a time when the Martyrdom was separated from the preceding acts and circulated independently, with various introductions added to facilitate its existence as a free-standing narrative.¹¹ APh^A 8ff. thus seems to represent not an originally unified narrative, but a reconstituted form

Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, vol. 2, 5. Aufl. (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1989), 425; Otto Bardenhewer, *Geschichte Der Altkirchlichen Literatur*, 2te. ungearbeitete Aufl. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1912), 586.

⁹ Amsler, *Commentarius*, 130–32, 212–14; Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4483; Matthews, *Philip*, 170.

¹⁰ On the independent origins of APh 1 and APh 2, and the nature of the collection more generally, see Amsler, *Commentarius*, 2–3, 83, 431–33; Matthews, *Philip*, 172; cf. Bovon, “Women,” 111. APh 2 appears to rely on APh 6 and possibly also the Martyrdom and may therefore have been a late addition to the collection (see Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4479; Amsler, *Commentarius*, 85, 94–103).

¹¹ Bovon does not offer a fixed date for this detachment, but suggests that it was certainly before the 9th c. (Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4523; cf. Amsler, *Commentarius*, 431–32).

of an originally unified narrative, and to draw on at least two independent sources.¹² Linguistic evidence of this compositional history will be discussed below.¹³

The significance of linguistic differences between the episodes of APh^A will also be discussed. We will see that while some linguistic patterns considered in this chapter directly contribute to reconstructing the compositional history of the text—sociolinguistic relationships provide clues as to the relationship between APh^A 3 and APh^A 5–7, for instance, and support Amsler’s suggestion that parts of APh^A 8ff. have been rearranged—other types of linguistic variation merely confirm that APh is a collected narrative. The latter linguistic dynamics are nevertheless interesting for what they reveal about the role of compilers in the APh^A tradition and the extent to which the final text has—or has not—been homogenized. In this regard, it is important to keep in mind that not all texts that incorporate source documents necessarily exhibit linguistic inconsistencies. Despite the strong relationships between speech patterns and social context outlined for Acts^B and AJ^{RZ} in chapters 2 and 3, for instance, it is perfectly possible that composers of both traditions have employed source documents. In this light, the fact that sociolinguistic relationships in APh^A are less uniform provides important insight into compilers’ and redactors’ activities.¹⁴

Earliest Versions of APh

As suggested by the above discussion, questions of dating, provenance, and authorship of APh are exceedingly complex. No named authors are associated with the tradition, and the fact that APh is not mentioned in Eusebius or other ancient sources makes it unlikely that a work by the title “Acts of Philip” circulated widely before the fourth century. An “Acts of Philip” is mentioned in the sixth century Gelasian Decree, but it is not clear whether the reference is to all or part of the narrative preserved in the Xenophontos

¹² Cf. Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4473.

¹³ Other rearrangements and redaction may also have taken place, apart from the introduction. See below, pp. 206–207, and Amsler, *Commentarius*, 407–21; Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4471, 4473.

¹⁴ Despite differences between episodes in APh^A, they are clearly meant to be read together, not least because the fifteen acts are sequentially numbered and have similar titles. It is also interesting that the narrator of APh^A 3 calls Philip “the apostle of Christ” apparently before he becomes an apostle (APh^A 3.1.1) (cf. Amsler, *Commentarius*, 147, 156; Matthews, *Philip*, 171), although one cannot be certain at what stage this seemingly collection-related change was made.

manuscript, or to some other work entirely.¹⁵ The earliest certain evidence of the extant APh tradition is thus a manuscript fragment of the Martyrdom dating to the eighth or ninth century. As Bovon comments, however, the tradition may well have circulated significantly earlier.¹⁶

Amsler suggests earliest dates of origin for APh 1 in the late fourth or early fifth century, APh 3–7 in late fourth century, and APh 8ff. in mid-fourth century, basing his conclusions on possible literary awareness of the Acts of Peter (in, e.g., APh 5–7, 8ff.) and the Acts of John (in, e.g., APh 8ff.); similarities between the ethics espoused in APh and other descriptions of ascetic groups in the late fourth and early fifth centuries; and his understanding of APh 8ff. as interacting with a still-influential cult of Cybele in Hierapolis.¹⁷ Although I am not entirely convinced of the details of some of these arguments, there seems to be no reason to question his suggested dating, which is akin to that proposed by other commentators, nor to challenge the suggested origin of the traditions in Asia Minor where Philip was an important local figure.¹⁸

As with AJ^{RZ}, however, the fact that the Xenophontos tradition differs so extensively from other extant versions of APh means that one cannot assume the sociolinguistic relationships it contains necessarily reflect a fourth or fifth century context. The fact that linguistic relationships in different episodes have not been entirely homogenized raises the possibility that APh^A preserves some early sociolinguistic data, but one would need to exercise extreme caution in using this version of the tradition to address questions regarding the historical development of language or actual conversational practices in

¹⁵ Bovon and Matthews, *Acts of Philip*, 14. A reference to Philip in the Manichaen Psalter seems to refer to a different Philip tradition (*ibid.*, 11–12).

¹⁶ Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4474–75.

¹⁷ Amsler, *Commentarius*, 78–80, 263–65, 302–312, 435–39; cf. Frédéric Amsler, “Les Actes de Philippe: aperçu d’une compétition religieuse en Phrygie,” in *Le mystère apocryphe: introduction à une littérature méconnue*, ed. Jean-Daniel Kaestli and Daniel Marguerat (Geneva: Labor et fides, 1995), 125–45; Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4501–3; Matthews, *Philip*, 163–64. Notably, Amsler comments that the proposed dating “dépend d’indices ténus et relève presque de la divination” (Amsler, *Commentarius*, 437). On external parallels to ascetic ethics in APh, see Peterson, “Zum Messalianismus”; Erik Peterson, “Die Häretiker der Philippus-Akten,” *ZNW* 31 (1932): 97–111; and cf. de Santos Otero, “Jüngere Apostelakten,” 425.

¹⁸ On the connection of Philip to this region, see Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4456–60; Matthews, *Philip*, 23–25, 31–33; Bovon and Matthews, *Acts of Philip*, 10–11; de Santos Otero, “Jüngere Apostelakten,” 426.

the (possibly) fifth century.¹⁹ As in preceding chapters, conclusions are only argued to pertain to the fourteenth century Xenophontos version of APh.

Structure of the Chapter

In order to highlight linguistic differences between episodes, this chapter analyzes APh^A 1, APh^A 3 and 4, APh^A 5–7, and APh^A 8ff. separately. APh^A 3 and APh^A 4 are discussed in the same section so that sociolinguistic evidence for or against common origins of these acts can be assessed. APh^A 1 is considered last because it differs in focus from other episodes.²⁰

Investigation of each episode begins with a discussion of Christian identity, explorations that go into some detail in order to clarify the Christian status of converting characters. As we will see, “Christians” are not always portrayed as a homogeneous social group, nor is conversion typically depicted as an instantaneous process defined by a single moment of “belief.” Christian identity is often portrayed as multi-dimensional, and a person’s status may be defined by a number of features including baptism, dress, diet, marital relations, wealth, and hospitality. In order to appreciate how speech patterns relate to Christian status, detailed understanding of these dynamics is therefore required.²¹

After a discussion of the dynamics of Christian identity, linguistic variables will be analyzed. Third person references to Jesus/God will be considered in all episodes. Forms of address, references to Philip, and references to the apostles will be assessed in episodes that provide sufficient data for meaningful sociolinguistic conclusions to be drawn.

¹⁹ Regarding dates for the APh collection as a whole, suggestions have been fourth or fifth century (Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler, *Acta Philippi*, xxx); and fourth century (Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4467, 4522; Matthews, *Philip*, 163–64). On the dating of APh, see also Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4467–68; Amsler, *Commentarius*, 437–39; Theodor Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur*, VI, I: *Apostel und Apostelschüler in der Provinz Asien* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1900), 18.

²⁰ APh^A 2 is not discussed because it is no longer extant.

²¹ For general discussion of some of the practices, see Amsler, *Commentarius*, 469–520. Peterson suggests that the ascetic community behind the APh tradition idealized some of these particularities of dress, diet, etc. (Peterson, “Die Häretiker,” 97–103).

Remark: Jesus/God

Before beginning sociolinguistic analysis, it remains to remark that this chapter does not differentiate between references to Jesus and references to the Christian god. The terminology “Jesus/God” is used for convenience, and should be read as “Jesus and/or the Christian god.” It should not be taken to indicate that the tradition simply conflates Jesus and other persons of the Christian god, but it does reflect the fact that the tradition shows little interest in delineating a precise relationship between those persons, making it difficult to determine a specific referent in many cases.

The term θεός, “god,” for instance, is not used to distinguish between Jesus and another divine figure or person of the Trinity in either APh^A 5–7 or APh^A 8ff. It is sometimes used to denote a figure distinct from Jesus (e.g., APh^A 5.19.3; 12.6.4; cf. 4.3.27), and sometimes to refer explicitly to Jesus himself (e.g., APh^A 6.20.11, 14; 15.7.3; cf. 1.2.5). In other cases, it is simply unclear whether Jesus is indicated by or included in the reference. The ambiguity is well illustrated by APh^A 6.20. In this scene, Philip calls upon θεὲ καὶ πατήρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “God and father of our lord Jesus Christ,” then commands a young man to speak, rise, and walk “in the name of Jesus Christ.” After the miracle, both the young man and a watching crowd exclaim, εἷς θεὸς ὁ Φιλίππου Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, “There is one god, that of Philip, Christ Jesus.” There is a certain tension between Philip’s initial invocation of “God and father of our lord Jesus Christ,” which seems to differentiate between Jesus and “God,” and the crowds’ subsequent affirmation of Jesus as the only “god.” Given such ambiguity, it would be risky to use the term θεός, “god” to distinguish between Jesus and another person of the Christians’ god in that episode.

The term πατήρ, “father” more consistently differentiates between Jesus and a distinct “Father” in APh^A 8ff., which includes Trinitarian doxologies and baptismal formulae (APh^A M.2.11–12; M.42.13), but the term is rare in APh^A 1 and APh^A 5–7, and even in APh^A 8ff. appears too infrequently to provide a reliable means of differentiating between

Jesus and another divine referent.²² In the current study, therefore, it will be easiest simply to speak of “Jesus/God” and to examine the relative frequency of all speech patterns that appear.

APh^A 3 and APh^A 4

Let us now investigate the relationship between speech patterns and social context in APh^A 3 and APh^A 4. In these acts, Philip seeks apostolic empowerment in Parthia, then journeys to Azotus. Although the total amount of dialogue in each act is limited, there is some possible evidence of sociolinguistic variation, and there may be evidence that the acts had separate origins.

APh^A 3

Dynamics of Christian identity in APh^A 3 will be considered first.

Dynamics of Christian Identity in APh^A 3

The first thing to be observed is that Christians in APh^A 3 are depicted as a social group, a necessary condition for sociolinguistic analysis.²³ As the act opens, Philip goes to Parthia, where he finds “Peter, the apostle of Christ, along with the other disciples with him, and some women who were imitating the male faith” (APh^A 3.1.2–5). Peter and the disciples “with him” (APh^A 3.1.3, 5–6) are depicted as a pre-existing community, and Philip’s act of seeking them out also indicates a social aspect to Christian identity.

The narrative also provides evidence of Christian boundaries, although they are not emphasized to the same degree in APh^A 3 as in other episodes. In APh^A 3, Philip prescribes two activities to converting characters that probably represent exclusively

²² In APh^A 8ff., “father” is used in formulae (APh^A 11.4.8; M.41.9); in reference to a non-Jesus “Father” in prayer (APh^A 11.4.3, 4; 11.9.5, 8, 19) and in other direct speech (APh^A 15.2.6; M.3.1–2; M.42.4); and as a form of address for Jesus (APh^A 14.5.13; M.26.2 [x2], 2–3, 7; M.38.2). In APh^A 3, it is used in prayer referentially of Jesus (APh^A 3.7.3, 7) and of a distinct “Father” (APh^A 3.4.12–13, 23, 31, 39; 3.7.8; cf. 4.2.2). In APh^A 5–7, it occurs once as a form of address for a distinct “Father” (APh^A 6.20.3). In APh^A 1, one predicative reference to Jesus as “father” appears (APh^A 1.3.11).

²³ On use of the term “Christians” in this thesis, see above, pp. 24–27. The term χριστιανός, “Christian,” appears three times in APh^A in the mouths of non-Christian speakers (APh^A 1.1.27; 6.16.7–8; 14.2.9).

Christian practices—prayer and “self-control”—of which the latter is the most relevant for the current study, especially in conjunction with a speech Philip delivers near the end of the act.²⁴ Disembarking from the ship that has taken him to Azotus, Philip speaks to τοῖς περιεστῶσιν, “those standing around” at the city gate (APh^A 3.16.3). In a discourse about the relationship between the soul and the flesh, he refers to ἐγκράτεια σαρκός, “self-control of the flesh” and ταπείνωσις σαρκός, “humiliation of the flesh” (APh^A 3.17.3–5), calling unhumiliated flesh a “wound” (APh^A 3.17.7), and urges them to reject τὸ ἀηδὲς τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, “the unseemliness of this world” (APh^A 3.18.13–14). Philip does not mention any specific ascetic practices in this speech, but a connection to wealth is obliquely implied. He comments:

ἐὰν δέξησθε τὸν δυνάμενον σῶζειν τὸν ἀσθενῆ, σωθήσεσθαι· ἐὰν δέξησθε τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς πλούσιον, πλουτήσει ἡμᾶς.

If you receive the one who is able to save the weak, you will be saved; if you receive the one who is rich in heaven, he will enrich us. (APh^A 3.17.8–9)

He also announces:

τὴν μέριμναν τῆς ζωῆς ἐπιρρίψαντες τῷ ἐν οὐρανοῖς εὐεργέτῃ αἰωνίας τρυφῆς ἀπολαύσητε.

Casting the anxiety of life onto the heavenly benefactor, you will enjoy eternal luxury. (APh^A 3.18.14–15)

Philip’s exhortation, which is punctuated by the implication that his addressees are not yet “saved” (APh^A 3.17.8–9) or “reborn” (APh^A 3.18.12–13),²⁵ represents “self-control” as a new practice for them and as a necessary condition for Christian salvation. “Self-control” thus seems to mark a Christian boundary.²⁶

²⁴ Prayer is a key thematic activity throughout APh^A 3, and seems to indicate Christian identity. All recorded prayers are by Christian characters, and Philip instructs previously non-Christian characters to pray in a context that associates the act with Christian identity (APh^A 3.13.3–4). Prayers are likewise confined to characters showing signs of Christian identity in APh^A 4, 5–7 and 8ff., although not in APh^A 1. See APh^A 1.2.11.

²⁵ Philip encourages his addressees to consider the “higher” nature so that they may be ἄξιοι...τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, “worthy of rebirth” (APh^A 3.18.12–13).

²⁶ Philip also mentions τῇ ταπεινώσει τῆς σαρκός, “humiliation of the flesh,” and τῶν ὄντων ταπεινῶν ἐν τῇ ἐγκρατείᾳ, “those who are humble in self-control” in an earlier scene (APh^A 3.1.10–11).

Philip's insistence on "self-control" is especially striking given that he addresses his audience as ὧ ἄνδρες οἱ σὺν ἐμοί, "men who are with me" (APh^A 3.16.4), an expression that may suggest they already share some aspects of Christian identity. Throughout APh^A, the constructions 'οἱ σὺν + *dative*' and 'οἱ μετὰ + *genitive*' tend to indicate established affiliation, including shared religious commitment. In APh^A 5–7, for instance, the narrator uses these constructions only for Philip's ministerial colleagues (APh^A 5.2.1–2; 5.13.1; 5.14.3; 5.15.3; 5.26.3; 6.6.5); the Jewish retinue of Aristarchus, the leader of the synagogue (APh^A 6.11.6; 6.13.2–3); and slaves accompanying a character named Ireos (APh^A 6.5.7–8). In direct speech, Aristarchus also refers to Philip's Christian associates as "those with you" (APh^A 6.9.10), and Philip tells Ireos, σωθήσει σὺ καὶ ἡ οἰκία σου καὶ πάντες οἱ σὺν σοί, "You and your household and all those who are with you will be saved" (APh^A 5.7.7). In each of these instances, the construction indicates established affiliation, and in each case a shared religious identity is either stated or implied.²⁷ The same holds true for two occurrences of the construction in APh^A 3. The narrator refers to:

- Peter and ἐτέρων τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ μαθητῶν, "the other disciples with him" (APh^A 3.1.3) and
- τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τῶν [sic] σὺν αὐτῷ, "Peter and those with him" (APh^A 3.1.5–6).

Those "with" Peter are clearly Christians. Although this does not prove that the construction implies shared religious commitment throughout APh^A 3, the possibility must be kept in mind. It would suggest that Philip, who addresses his audience as "men who are with me" and simultaneously implies that they are not yet "saved," views Christian identity as multi-dimensional rather than as determined by a single trait such as "belief."²⁸

²⁷ Context suggests that Ireos' entire household are Christians by the time the narrator refers to "the slaves with him" (APh^A 6.5.7–8). In APh^A 8ff., the narrator uses the construction "those with [someone]" for Christian companions of Philip (APh^A 14.8.7; M.27.5) and of Stachys (APh^A M.42.11). Cf. APh^A 11.2.12–13.

²⁸ "Belief" is associated with Christian identity in APh^A 3, but is not emphasized by Philip. It is mentioned by the narrator (APh^A 3.1.4; 3.15.16; 3.19.3) and by Philip in prayer (APh^A 3.4.27). Those on Philip's ship use the term in a more loosely related context (APh^A 3.15.7–8, 13). Other indicators of Christian identity mentioned by the narrator in APh^A 3 include baptism (APh^A

References to Jesus/God in APh^A 3

In APh^A 3, “self-control” also coincides with a linguistic boundary: speech patterns amongst the apostles differ from how Philip speaks when addressing the “men who are with me.”

Several references to Jesus/God appear in inter-apostolic dialogue:

- The apostle John speaks to Philip of ὁ κύριος, “the Lord,” and Ἰησοῦς, “Jesus” (APh^A 3.2.7–8).
- Philip addresses Peter and “those with him” as τῶν εἰληφότων τὸν στέφανον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “you who have received the crown of Christ” (APh^A 3.1.6–7).
- Speaking to Peter and John, Philip mentions ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (APh^A 3.3.4).

These short, direct references to “Jesus,” “Christ,” and “the Lord” differ from how Philip speaks when addressing the “men who are with me.” In the latter context he mentions “Jesus,” but does not use the terms “Christ” or “lord.” He refers to:

- δῶρα ὑψίστου, “gifts of the Most High” (APh^A 3.16.5)
- τὸν ὁλόκληρον λίθον τὸν μὴτθέντα [sic] μήτε λατομηθέντα, ὅς ἐστιν ἔντιμος ἐκλεκτὸς ἀκρογωνιαίος θαυμαστὸς θεοφορούμενος, “the perfect stone that has been neither placed nor hewn, which is precious, chosen, cornered, marvelous, god-bearing” (APh^A 3.16.7–9)
- τὸν δυνάμενον σώζειν τὸν ἀσθενῆ, “the one who is able to save the weak” (APh^A 3.17.8)
- τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς πλούσιον, “the one who is rich in heaven” (APh^A 3.17.9) and
- τῷ ἐν οὐρανοῖς εὐεργέτῃ, “the heavenly benefactor” (APh^A 3.18.14–15).

3.19.3), and female Christians’ “imitating male faith,” although it is not clear whether the latter is viewed as normative (cf. APh^A 3.1.4–5). Regarding the multi-dimensional construction of Christian identity, if “the men who are with me” are Philip’s shipmates, as seems likely, there is other evidence that their conversion process has already begun when he speaks. According to the narrator, the sailors have already been “strengthened in the Lord” (APh^A 3.15.4–5), and have been telling people in the city about Philip with the result that πολλοὶ πιστεύοντες, “many believed” (APh^A 3.15.16). They also refuse to accept Philip’s fare, which could be taken as unconcern for worldly wealth (APh^A 3.14.5–7). If they still lack “self-control,” the latter evidently represents a separate aspect of identity than “belief.” The other option is that the “men who are with me” consist of or include the residents of the city, as could be suggested by the narrator’s report after Philip’s speech that many sick people are healed (APh^A 3.19.1–2). In APh^V, however, Philip clearly addresses the sailors, and it is easiest to assume the same context for APh^A, contra Amsler (*Commentarius*, 133). Philip’s speech begins with a reference to finding lodging, a concern he and the sailors would share.

He also says:

- καθαρισμός ἐστὶν ψυχῆς τὸ τῆς ἀθανασίας ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀποβλέπων [sic] εἰς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ οἰκητήρια, εἰς ἅπερ [sic] ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔδωκεν, “Purification of the soul is the holy spirit of immortality looking to its dwellings which Jesus has given” (APh^A 3.17.1–3).

A difference between inter-apostolic dialogue and how Philip speaks to the “men who are with me” is immediately evident. Inter-apostolic dialogue only includes short, direct references to “Jesus,” “Christ,” and “the Lord,” whereas when addressing the “men who are with me” Philip uses descriptive expressions, and the terms “Christ” and “lord” do not appear. Although the data set is small, these ways of speaking seem to differ, and one wonders whether the explanation lies in the Christian status of the addressees. Although Philip’s form of address for the “men who are with me” may suggest an emerging Christian identity, his references to Jesus/God seem to reflect their ongoing need for “self-control,” a practice that could therefore represent a boundary within rather than around the Christian community.

APh^A 4

Both speech patterns and dynamics of Christian identity in APh^A 4 differ somewhat from the preceding act.

Dynamics of Christian Identity in APh^A 4

APh^A 4 places less emphasis on social aspects of Christian identity, but the communal nature of Christianity is probably assumed, once again making sociolinguistic analysis meaningful. At the end of the act, the narrator reports that numerous members of a household “believed,” and that one of them “followed Philip” (APh^A 4.6). These comments seem to indicate a social aspect to Christian identity.

Several traits distinguish Christians from wider society in APh^A 4. Non-Christians revile Philip for teaching that “purity sees God,” for instance, and that procreation is a misery (APh^A 4.1.16–17). These remarks suggest that affirming “purity” and avoiding

procreation are distinctive traits, and—because Philip is cited as associating “purity” with “God”—traits that relate to religious identity.²⁹

Another distinctive trait noticed by non-Christian characters is Philip’s ability to perform miracles. At the beginning of the act, people are healed and demons flee, leading some local residents to call Philip “a man of God” (Aph^A 4.1.9), or to suggest there is “a holy spirit” in him. Some even proclaim, “Blessed be his god” (Aph^A 4.1.13–14), although others wonder whether he is μάγος, “a magician” (Aph^A 4.1.9). Regardless of whether these characters describe Philip’s ability as magical or divine, they all portray miracle-working power as unusual, and some associate it explicitly with Philip’s religious identity.³⁰

Although other practices are also associated with Christian identity in the episode, they are less relevant for the current study. The narrator associates Christian conversion with “belief” and “the seal in the Lord,” for instance, and reports that a woman named

²⁹ On “purity,” see *ibid.*, 494–97. Amsler discusses ascetic, encratite, and apotactite terminology and themes in some detail (*ibid.*, 493–520).

³⁰ On the emerging religious connotations of “magic” in the Greco-Roman world, see J. B. Rives, “Magic in Roman Law: The Reconstruction of a Crime,” in *The Religious History of the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews, and Christians*, ed. J. A. North and S. R. F. Price (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 71–108. The relationship between miracles and Christian identity is strong throughout Aph^A. Miracles usually function to emphasize the power of Jesus/God, and non-Christians never perform them. Although hostile characters believe that magicians—such as Philip—could have miraculous powers, even they are amazed at what Philip can do, suggesting that his deeds exceed their expectations of magic. On the literary function of miracles, see Eugene V. Gallagher, “Conversion and Salvation in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles,” *Second Century* 8 (1991): 13–29; Paul Achtemeier, “Jesus and the Disciples as Miracle Workers in the Apocryphal New Testament,” in *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1976), 149–86. Stanton notes the widespread use of terms such as “magician” in Christian writings that report accusations against them (G. N. Stanton, “Aspects of Early Christian-Jewish Polemic and Apologetic,” *New Testament Studies* 31 [1985]: 379–82). See also Gérard Poupon, “L’accusation de magie dans les actes apocryphes,” in *Les actes apocryphes des apôtres: christianisme et monde païen*, ed. François Bovon, Michel van Esbroeck, and Richard Goulet (Geneva: Labor et fides, 1981), 84–85; François Bovon, “Miracles, magie, et guérison dans les Actes apocryphes des apôtres,” *JECs* 3 (1995): 245–59; Jan N. Bremmer, “Magic in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles,” in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 51–70.

Charitine adopts male dress (APh^A 4.6.1–5).³¹ Philip also waxes eloquent on fasting and rejects “drunkenness” in a speech ostensibly addressed to his “soul” (APh^A 4.3.20–21).³²

References to Jesus/God in APh^A 4

Due to a paucity of references to Jesus/God, it is difficult to determine whether Philip’s ways of speaking co-vary with the Christian status of his addressees in APh^A 4. Certain ways of speaking may correlate with the Christian status of speakers, however.

At the beginning of the act, Philip is cited by non-Christian characters as teaching that ἡ ἀγνεία ὁρᾷ τὸν θεόν, “purity sees God” (APh^A 4.1.16), a comment that suggests he has previously referred to “God” with these non-Christian addressees. This is striking because it resembles how non-Christians themselves speak in the act. Of the two or three references to Jesus/God by non-Christian characters in APh^A 4, two involve the term “god”: crowds suggest that Philip is θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, “a man of God” (APh^A 4.1.9), and proclaim, εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ, “Blessed be his god” (APh^A 4.1.13–14). It is interesting how the non-Christian crowds’ references to “god” resemble the language they cite Philip as using when addressing them.

The other character who may be a non-Christian when she refers to Jesus/God is Charitine, a woman who is initially introduced as a non-Christian with an eye problem. She says to Philip:

παρακαλῶ οὖν σε καὶ δέομαι τοῦ ἐν σοὶ ἱατροῦ, θεράπειςόν μου τὴν ὀδύνην,
καὶ τελεία ἔσομαι σου δούλη.

³¹ There are three references to “belief” in APh^A 4, all in the narrator’s summary (APh^A 4.6.1, 4, 6). On the possible significance of male dress, see Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4482; Amsler, *Commentarius*, 204, 506–7. The “seal in the Lord” probably indicates baptism—see Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler, *Acta Philippi*, 130 n. 13; Amsler, *Commentarius*, 204 (but cf. 502); Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4482. Elsewhere in APh^A, σφραγίς, “seal,” does not have this sense, however. In APh^A 3, it is used of a luminous cross (APh^A 3.12.8, 9; 3.14.1, 9; 3.15.9, 14). In APh^A 8ff., the sense is unclear (APh^A 15.3.3; M.2.14; M.28.6; M.38.22); it cannot refer to baptism in APh^A M.38.22. If it does refer to baptism in APh^A 4, the differing terminology would support a hypothesis of separate origins for APh^A 3 and 4 (cf. APh^A 3.19.3). It is also worth remarking that baptism is not prominent anywhere in APh^A 3–7. In contrast to APh^A 8ff., neither “baptism” or a “seal” are mentioned in APh^A 5–7, and in APh^A 3 and 4 only in narratorial summaries.

³² On the latter speech, see Amsler, *Commentarius*, 196–201, 500–1. As Amsler notes, the speech concerns more than simply fasting from food (ibid., 198). Whether Philip intends the speech to be overheard is unclear; Amsler suggests reading it on both levels (ibid.).

I urge you and I beg the doctor in you, heal my pain, and I will be your perfect servant. (APh^A 4.5.8–9)

Her reference to “the doctor in you” is unique and therefore difficult to assess from a sociolinguistic perspective.

Regarding use of Jesus’ name, a reference to Jesus/God that Philip makes when addressing Charitine suggests that this way of speaking is not limited to Christian addressees: she is probably not a Christian when Philip tells her that αὐτὸς...ὁ Ἰησοῦς, “Jesus himself” will show her places of eternal rest (APh^A 4.5.4). Use of Jesus’ name in APh^A 4 may be limited to Christian speakers, however. Only Philip actually speaks this way, and at the point when Philip instructs Charitine to pronounce her own healing ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “in the name of Jesus Christ” (APh^A 4.5.11)—implying that she might also use those words—she may be portrayed as having an emerging Christian identity. The narrative never specifies an exact moment for Charitine’s conversion, but her self-healing probably assumes at least an emerging Christian identity, since non-Christian characters in APh^A 4 explicitly associate Philip’s ability to perform miracles with his religious status,³³ and it would thus be as a Christian that Charitine would speak of “Jesus Christ,” an implied way of speaking that would contrast the references to “god” made by non-Christian characters, as well as her own reference to “the doctor in you” at a point when her Christian status is less clear.³⁴

Philip also uses Jesus’ name a number of times in the speech to his soul. He remarks, ἐφ’ ἡμῖν δὲ ὁ ἔμπορος ὁ ἄδολος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, “For us the trustworthy merchant is Jesus Christ” (APh^A 4.3.33), and also refers to:

- ὁ θεός, “God” (APh^A 4.3.3)
- τὴν τοῦ κυρίου λογικὴν τροφήν, “the spiritual food of the Lord” (APh^A 4.3.6–7)
- οἱ...ἐργαζόμενοι ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, “those working in Jesus” (APh^A 4.3.9)
- ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, “the man of God” (APh^A 4.3.12)

³³ See above, p. 154.

³⁴ In APh^V, Philip gives more instruction about Jesus and eternal life before instructing Charitine to pronounce her own healing (APh^V 4.4.40–43), although, as in APh^A, no conversion “moment” is marked. APh^V 4 is significantly longer than APh^A 4 (cf. Amsler, *Commentarius*, 189–90).

- τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the glory of Christ” (APh^A 4.3.12–13)
- ἐπὶ τὸ ὕψος ἀνάγοντί σε, “the one leading you up to the heights” (APh^A 4.3.23)³⁵ and
- τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, “Christ, the son of the living god” (APh^A 4.3.27).³⁶

Philip’s references to Jesus/God in the latter speech could suggest addressee-related variation insofar as he uses a wider variety of substantives in the speech to his soul than in other social contexts. This may go beyond the evidence, however. References to Jesus/God in Philip’s speech to his soul do support a hypothesis of variation according to the Christian status of speakers, on the other hand: while non-Christian speakers in APh^A 4 refer only to “god” and perhaps “the doctor in you”—if Charitine is not yet a Christian when she says those words—Philip uses a wider variety of substantives, including Jesus’ name, “Christ,” and “the Lord.”

Summary and Remarks

To summarize the discussion so far, the descriptive expressions Philip uses to refer to Jesus/God when addressing the “men who are with me” in APh^A 3 differ from inter-apostolic dialogue in that act, where only short references to “Jesus,” “Christ,” and “the Lord” are made. This variation may relate to the Christian status of addressees, especially to the fact that the “men who are with me” still need instruction in “self-control.” In APh^A 4, meanwhile, there is insufficient evidence to claim addressee-related variation, but ways of referring to Jesus/God seem to reflect the Christian status of speakers insofar as Philip uses a wider variety of substantives than do non-Christian characters.

In the light of the debate about whether APh 3 and APh 4 had separate origins,³⁷ it is interesting to observe that although similar traits are associated with Christian identity in the two acts, there are also differences. In APh^A 3, for instance, Philip actively commends prayer, whereas in APh^A 4 he prays (APh^A 4.2.1–6; 4.3.1), but does not commend the practice, and the narrator even emphasizes the private nature of Philip’s prayers, the first

³⁵ The participle could be neuter: “that which leads you up to the heights.” See Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler, *Acta Philippi*, 120 n. 7.

³⁶ Philip also refers to τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος τροφήν, “the food of the Spirit” (APh^A 4.3.20–21).

³⁷ See above, p. 144.

being done καθ' ἑαυτόν, “by himself” (APh^A 4.2.1), and the second κατὰ μόνας, “alone” (APh^A 4.3.1).³⁸ The particular ascetic practices mentioned in the two acts also differ. In APh^A 3, Philip insists upon “self-control,” obliquely connecting this with wealth. In APh^A 4, wealth is not mentioned, but fasting and “purity” are, neither of which plays a role in APh^A 3.³⁹ Neither of these differences necessitates that the acts had separate origins, but they would support such a claim.

Separate origins for the acts could also explain Philip’s use of language in APh^A 4 that does not appear in direct speech in APh^A 3, such as the term “god” and the expression “Jesus Christ.” These linguistic differences could be explained in other ways, however, and separate origins for APh^A 3 and APh^A 4 are not therefore necessitated by the linguistic data examined in this chapter.

Implied and Intended Audience

Because sociolinguistic relationships differ between episodes, it will be best to discuss the implied and intended audience of each episode individually, and to consider the audience of the whole work at the end of the chapter. Once again, the question of implied and intended audience will be addressed in this chapter by comparing references to Jesus/God in narration with those in direct speech.

APh^A 3

In APh^A 3, the narrator refers to:

- Φίλιππος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος, “Philip, the apostle of Christ” (APh^A 3.1.1)
- τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολον Πέτρον, “Peter, the apostle of Christ” (APh^A 3.1.2–3)
- τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the grace of Christ” (APh^A 3.19.3–4)
- ἐδόξασαν / ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν, “glorifying God” (APh^A 3.3.1–2; 3.15.16)
- ὁ Ἰησοῦς, “Jesus,” as a character (APh^A 3.3.10; 3.8.1)
- ὁ κύριος, “the Lord,” as a character (APh^A 3.9.7–8)
- Being filled by πνεῦμα κυρίου, “the Lord’s spirit” (APh^A 3.3.12) and

³⁸ Admittedly, Philip only commends *private* prayer at APh^A 3.13.3–5. His own prayer in the same scene seems to be voiced, however.

³⁹ “Purity” probably refers to sexual abstinence.

- Strengthening people ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον, “in the Lord” (APh^A 3.15.5).

The narrator also announces:

- ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν διὰ Φιλίππου· κηρυττόμενον θεὸν Ἰησοῦν [sic], “They were glorifying the god proclaimed by Philip, the god Jesus” (APh^A 3.19.2–3).⁴⁰

Most of these references to Jesus/God more closely resemble inter-apostolic dialogue in APh^A 3 than how Philip speaks to the “men who are with me.” One observes, for instance, that the narrator makes references to “Christ” and “the Lord,” and only once uses a longer expression. Nevertheless, the narrator’s reference to “the god proclaimed by Philip, the god Jesus” seems at odds with an implied audience of established Christians. The sociolinguistic significance of the latter expression is difficult to determine, however, because no similar language is used in direct speech,⁴¹ and because the expression’s punctuation and the unexpected repetition of the word “god” are problematic.⁴² The question of implied audience therefore has to be left open for lack of sufficiently coherent linguistic evidence.

APh^A 4

In APh^A 4, the narrator’s references to Jesus/God would suit a Christian implied audience, but do not necessitate such a conclusion. The narrator refers to:

- ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος Φίλιππος, “Philip, the servant of Christ” (APh^A 4.4.1)
- ἐδόξαζεν / δοξάζουσα τὸν θεόν, “glorifying God” (APh^A 4.5.13; 4.6.6)
- τῆς ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδος, “the seal in the Lord” (APh^A 4.6.2)

⁴⁰ The narrator also makes references to being filled with πνεύματος ἁγίου, “the Holy Spirit” (APh^A 3.4.3) and speaking ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, “in the [S]pirit” (APh^A 3.6.1–2).

⁴¹ In this episode. Cf. APh^A 5.10.2–3; 6.12.20–21.

⁴² Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler plausibly emend the text to read ἐδόξαζον τὸν διὰ Φιλίππου κηρυττόμενον θεὸν Ἰησοῦν, “They were glorifying Jesus, the god proclaimed by Philip” (*Acta Philippi*, 113). The construction in APh^A may show interference from the more typical expression δοξάζω τὸν θεόν, “to glorify God.” In APh^A, δοξάζω, “glorify,” occurs in fourteen instances with complement τὸν θεόν, “God” (APh^A 1.18.3, 7; 3.3.1–2; 3.15.16; 4.5.13; 4.6.6; 6.15.19; 6.21.2; 11.1.4–5; 11.10.2; 12.1.2; 12.8.5–6; M.32.15; M.41.6–7). The verb is also used twice directly addressing Jesus in APh^A 8ff. (δοξάζομέν σε, “We glorify you” [APh^A 11.9.3; 12.8.6]), and passively on a number of occasions (APh^A 1.17.5; 3.4.26; 4.3.14; 5.25.4; 11.4.8). Only once does the verb appear with a different complement, but not in APh^A 3: in APh^A 8ff., Nicanora tells Mariamne, δοξάζω τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ θεοῦ, “I glorify God’s goodness” (APh^A M.10.6–7). The occurrence in APh^A 3.19 is not paralleled in APh^V.

- Believing εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, “in Jesus” (APh^A 4.6.4) and
- πίστει Χριστοῦ, “the faith of Christ” (APh^A 4.6.6).

Given how few references to Jesus/God appear in direct speech in APh^A 4, it is difficult to locate the narrator’s audience according to this single linguistic variable. One does observe, however, that the frequency of terms other than “god” in narration differs from how non-Christians speak, and bears some resemblance to Philip’s speech to his soul.

APh^A 5–7

We now turn to APh^A 5–7, a longer episode that provides more scope to explore the relationship between speech patterns and social context. In this episode, which features stories of conversion and conflict in the city of Nicatera, interaction between Christian and non-Christian characters provides ample evidence of Christian boundaries, with several beliefs and practices depicted as necessary for salvation. “Jewish” characters also appear, allowing ways of speaking to be related to both Christian status and “Jewish” identity.

These acts will be read together as a literary unit because unity of plot indicates a common origin; their relationship to other parts of APh^A will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

Dynamics of Christian Identity

First, it must once again be observed that there is a social aspect to Christian identity in APh^A 5–7, a necessary condition for sociolinguistic analysis. This is indeed the case. “Brothers” gather in a house (APh^A 6.1.1–2), for instance, and discuss where to build a place of assembly (APh^A 7.1). In fact, even Philip’s ministry is presented as (nominally) communal here. As APh^A 5 begins, Philip travels to Nicatera accompanied by πολλοὶ μαθηταί, “many disciples” (APh^A 5.1.3) whom Philip treats as ministerial colleagues

sharing in his preaching ministry (APh^A 5.3.5–6). This communal aspect to Philip’s ministry differs from APh^A 3 and 4.⁴³

In APh^A 5–7, Christian identity is also characterized by a number of specific practices. One of these is conjugal separation. Early in the episode, some non-Christians announce that Philip teaches “to believe in the name of a certain Jesus” and that “husbands and wives should separate” (APh^A 5.5.5–8; cf. 6.7.13). Later in the episode, conjugal separation is associated with Christian identity by Philip (APh^A 5.8.5–9), by a woman named Nercella (APh^A 5.9.6), and by a city leader (APh^A 6.3.15–16).⁴⁴

Another aspect of Christian identity mentioned by several characters is “belief.” Nercella’s husband Ireos tells her, οὐ πιστεύσεις τῷ διὰ τοῦ ξένου κηρυττομένῳ θεῷ, “You will believe in the god proclaimed by the stranger” (APh^A 5.10.2–3; cf. 5.21.9), and urges her to lay aside her ἀπιστίας, “unbelief” (APh^A 5.10.8–9). Philip tells a “Jewish” character named Aristarchus to “believe” in Jesus and live (APh^A 6.12.12–13). Crowds announce that if Philip wins a debate with Aristarchus, πιστεύσωμεν τῷ διὰ σοῦ κηρυττομένῳ Χριστῷ, “We will believe in the messiah you proclaim” (APh^A 6.12.20–21; cf. 6.21.1). The narrator also reports on multiple occasions that characters have “believed” (e.g., APh^A 5.17.1–2; 5.27.3; cf. 5.20.1–2). In all of these contexts, Christian identity is associated explicitly with “belief.” It is also worth noting that “Jews” are depicted as objecting to particular Christian beliefs, especially the idea that a crucified man could be the messiah predicted by the Prophets, and divine (APh^A 6.9.4–5; 6.13.16–18; cf. 6.12.16–17; 6.15.5–6).⁴⁵

Other indicators of Christian identity in the episode include defending Philip and renouncing wealth. At the beginning of the episode, Nicaterans speak hard words

⁴³ Philip’s final appeal to the gathered community in APh^A 7 also includes a socially-oriented exhortation: κοινωνήσατε μετ’ ἀλλήλων, “Live in fellowship with one another” (APh^A 7.5.4–5).

⁴⁴ Although one should always scrutinize hostile reports for accuracy (cf. Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4482), non-Christians in APh^A 5–7 generally seem to have understood Philip’s message correctly. Note that sexual abstinence is not discussed extensively in APh^A 6–7, although it is a prominent theme in APh^A 5. This may be due to a shift in narrative focus from individuals to groups, resulting in the diminishing salience of identity markers with an individual focus such as conjugal separation.

⁴⁵ On “belief,” see also APh^A 5.1.8; 5.3.6; 5.17.4–5; 6.1.7; 6.6.11; 6.13.10; 6.16.9; 7.1.2–4; 7.4.3; 7.8.4. Occasionally this is described as belief in Philip (APh^A 5.6.13; 5.21.9).

against Philip, but Ireos defends him, causing the crowds to worry that perhaps Ireos “believes in Philip and is bringing him to his house” (APh^A 5.6.12–13).⁴⁶ They comment, “He will follow the stranger, since he defends him so vigorously” (APh^A 5.6.17–18), and remark that Ireos may have to relinquish his wealth before Philip will accept his hospitality, “since this sorcerer hates the wealthy” (APh^A 5.6.16–17). From these comments, we see that the Nicaterans interpret Ireos’ act of defending Philip as implying a wholesale adopting of his beliefs and practices, including renunciation of wealth.

Renouncing wealth is also associated with Christian identity by other characters, many of whom add to the prohibition a need to despise beauty. Ireos, for instance, tells Nercella that Philip’s god κρείττων ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὸν μάταιον ἡμῶν πλοῦτον, “is better for us than our vain wealth” (APh^A 5.10.3–4),⁴⁷ asks her to remove her fancy clothes (5.14.11–12), and urges her not to regard τὸν πλοῦτον τὸν φθιρόμενον, μήτε εἰς τὸ κάλλος σου, “perishable wealth or your beauty” (APh^A 5.20.7–8). Nercella also mentions these themes, asking Ireos what they will do about their children, slaves, and possessions—τῶν ὑπαρχόντων—if they become Philip’s disciples and he says, ‘ἐὰν μὴ καταλείψεται [sic] τὸν πλοῦτον, οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι,’ “Unless you abandon wealth, you cannot be saved” (APh^A 5.20.9–13). Even their daughter Artemilla mentions the practices, telling her mother that she is willing to change out of her fine clothes in order to share in this “life” her parents are entering (APh^A 5.21.7). Each of these speakers associates Christian identity with renunciation of wealth and beauty.

It is interesting that this sort of renunciation, from Philip’s perspective, seems to be essential for Christian identity and not merely an ethic for the Christian elite. At one point, Ireos commands golden seats to be brought for Philip and his companions. Philip, however, denigrates worldly wealth and perishable beauty and refuses to sit down (APh^A 5.15), which causes Ireos to worry whether he will truly live, given his former sin. To this, Philip replies that δύναται γὰρ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀφανίσαι σου τὰς ἁμαρτίας, “Jesus is able to wipe out your sins” (APh^A 5.16.4), a remark that implicitly labels an improper

⁴⁶ It is not clear whether this represents direct speech or narration.

⁴⁷ Amsler observes that Ireos has already begun to use Philip’s vocabulary at this point (*Commentarius*, 233).

relationship with wealth as “sin,” and therefore suggests that renunciation of wealth is necessary even for ordinary Christians.

The latter idea is reinforced when Philip meets Nercella and Artemilla later in the episode. When the meeting takes place, Nercella already displays several Christian traits. She has changed out of her fancy clothes (APh^A 5.21.10–11), and when she meets Philip, she expresses regret for her “unbelief” and offers him hospitality (APh^A 5.23.4–8).⁴⁸ Despite these indications of an emerging Christian identity, however, Philip still announces in the future tense, πάντες σωθήσεσθαι διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, “You will all be saved by Jesus” (APh^A 5.24.1–2). The future tense suggests that Philip considers Nercella’s salvation in doubt, an interpretation reinforced by his next remark: εἰ θέλεις ζῆσαι, καταφρόνησον τοῦ παντὸς βίου καὶ τοῦ κάλλους [sic] σου, “If you want to live, despise your whole present life and your beauty” (APh^A 5.24.2–3). And when Artemilla tells Philip that she, too, wants to be saved, he similarly replies, ἐφ’ ὅσον καὶ σὺ καταλείπεις τὸ κάλλο [sic] τοῦ σώματός σου, σωθήσῃ, “Insofar as you also abandon your bodily beauty, you will be saved” (APh^A 5.24.6–7). In both of these remarks, Philip represents salvation as conditional on renouncing wealth and beauty.⁴⁹

Another experience associated with Christian identity in the episode, worth mentioning here because it sheds light on Nercella’s evolving Christian status, is that of “seeing” Philip. In APh^A 5, the benefits of “seeing” Philip are emphasized both by Ireos (APh^A 5.10.7–11; 5.14.10–11; 5.18.2–3; 5.21.8–9) and by the narrator, who reports that Nercella is strongly affected when she sees Philip in person (APh^A 5.22).⁵⁰ The significance of “seeing” is also highlighted in a prior conversation between Ireos and Nercella, although the object is not specified. In that instance, Nercella announces, “Blessed is the person who is not double-minded” (APh^A 5.20.3), and Ireos replies, τί σοι γέγονεν; ἢ τί ἐθεάσω; ἢ πόθεν σοι τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο; “What has happened to you? Or

⁴⁸ Offering Philip hospitality, like Ireos’ act of defending him, is socially significant in the episode. See, e.g., APh^A 5.7.4–5; 5.8.11–12; 5.9.4–9; 5.14.1–5; 6.1.1–12; 6.3.10–11.

⁴⁹ Even if Nercella and Artemilla are already depicted in Christian terms by the narrator, this does not mean Philip himself would be aware of their current Christian status. On proper disposition of wealth, note also APh^A 7.2.3–4. Philip mentions his personal renunciation of wealth at APh^A 6.8.3–5.

⁵⁰ Philip is transfigured when Nercella sees him. See below, p. 165.

what have you seen? Or where did you get this word?” (APh^A 5.20.3–4). His reaction suggests that Nercella’s words may correspond with a personal transformation caused by something she has “seen.”

Other distinctively Christian traits include miracle-working power and monolatry. In APh^A 6, crowds see a corpse and announce that “if there is some god in [Philip]” (APh^A 6.16.8) and he raises the dead man, they will believe in Philip and destroy their idol temples. The parents of the dead Theophilus likewise promise that if he raises their son, they will believe that “the only living god is that of Philip, the one who raises the dead” (APh^A 6.17.11–12). Finally, when Philip succeeds in raising Theophilus, there are several acclamations of “one god” (APh^A 6.20.11–12, 14–15, 17–18). These offers and acclamations all associate Christian identity with monolatry, and present miracle-working as a distinctly Christian ability.⁵¹

The Christian Status of Nercella and Artemilla

At this point, it will be helpful to discuss the evolving Christian status of Nercella and Artemilla, as background for understanding how speech patterns relate to Christian status in the episode. Initially, these are non-Christian characters. When Nercella is first introduced, she is presented as a hostile character who wants nothing to do with Philip or his god (APh^A 5.9). After some conversation with Ireos, she finally agrees to let Philip

⁵¹ The ability to heal is also linked with religious identity by “Jewish” characters in APh^A 5–7: when Aristarchus is maimed, other “Jews” tell Philip, “You truly have [a] God, stranger. Heal the first of our people” (APh^A 6.11.8–9). Acclamations of “one god” appear in many ancient texts and inscriptions, and do not necessarily imply monolatry. Such does seem to be the case in APh^A 5–7, however. On acclamations both in apostolic texts and elsewhere in the ancient world, see Erik Peterson, *Heis Theos: Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur antiken „Ein-Gott“-Akklamation. Nachdruck der Ausgabe von Erik Peterson 1926 mit Ergänzungen und Kommentaren von Christoph Marksches, Henrik Hildebrandt, Barbara Nichtweiß u.a.* (Würzburg: Echter, 2012), 183–216, 352; Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets. Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), 174–76; Charlotte Roueché, “Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984): 181–99; Rosa Söder, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und die romanhafte Literatur der Antike* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1932), 101–102; Amsler, *Commentarius*, 123. Other features associated with Christian identity in APh^A 5–7 include “gentleness” and “hope.” On πραότης, “gentleness,” see APh^A 5.1.6–8; 5.3.6–8; 5.10.1–2; 5.21.5; 6.7.9; 6.8.2–3; 6.10.2; and Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4484, 4490; Amsler, *Commentarius*, 226, 252. On “hope,” see APh^A 5.1.7; 5.2.8; 5.3.3, 12; 5.8.7–8; 6.5.14–16.

into her house, but she shows no signs of personal belief and refuses to meet Philip herself (APh^A 5.11, 14, 18). Only when Philip asks Jesus about Nercella's recalcitrance and "the savior" appears to reassure him of her future salvation does the situation begin to change (APh^A 5.19). After this, the narrator announces that Nercella's unbelief "falls away," and she and Ireos have the exchange about "seeing" just cited (APh^A 5.20). This would appear to be the beginning of her conversion process, although not the end of it. Her "unbelief" may have fallen away, but she still questions her husband about the consequences of renouncing wealth (APh^A 5.20), and she does not actually change her clothes until the end of the scene (APh^A 5.21), just before going to "see" Philip (APh^A 5.22–23).

At what point can Nercella and Artemilla be said to "convert"? Amsler locates Nercella's conversion in APh^A 5.20, and that of Artemilla in APh^A 5.21, describing the ladies' change of clothing as a consequence of conversion rather than as part of the conversion process.⁵² He considers Jesus' epiphany in APh^A 5.19 to be the crucial event that triggers Nercella's conversion: "Nercella needs to see Christ in order to become a Christian, and the vision of Philip transfigured confirms her in her new faith."⁵³ It is not clear when she would have seen Christ, however, since she and Philip are not in the same place when Jesus appears to him.

Bovon would place the culmination of their conversion process later. He suggests that the ladies' clothing when they go to see Philip, which is modest, simple, *female* clothing, represents an intermediate state, contrasting the male clothing adopted by full female converts to the ascetic faith.⁵⁴ This interpretation is only plausible if one assumes that indicators of Christian identity in other episodes apply equally in APh^A 5–7, however, which is not necessarily the case. Women's adopting male dress is never mentioned in the current episode.⁵⁵

⁵² Amsler, *Commentarius*, 216–17, 235–36.

⁵³ "Nercella doit voir le Christ pour devenir chrétienne, et la vision de Philippe transfiguré la confirme dans sa foi nouvelle" (ibid., 238).

⁵⁴ Bovon, "Les Actes," 4485.

⁵⁵ Cf. Amsler, *Commentarius*, 213. Male dress indicates Christian identity in other episodes, but is never explicitly presented as normative. See above, pp. 154–55, and below, p. 187 n. 95.

A study by Klaus Berger, although based on APh^V, is also interesting. He observes similarities between Nercella's story and that of *Joseph and Asenath*. In both of these, as well as other Jewish and Christian texts, characters require supernatural intervention in order to recognize the true identity of a heaven-sent figure, and subsequently express regret for former words or deeds.⁵⁶ Although it is not really relevant to the current investigation, if one were to draw on this parallel, it would locate Nercella's conversion no earlier than her first sight of Philip in APh^A 5.22.

In the end, however, it is both futile and unnecessary to search for a particular "moment" when Nercella and Artemilla "convert." Christian identity in APh^A 5–7 is presented as multi-dimensional, and the narrative does not seem concerned with defining a precise instant when characters move from a "non-Christian" to a "Christian" category. In the linguistic discussion below, therefore, the Christian status of Nercella, Artemilla, and other characters will be held loosely, with attention given not only to their "belief," but also to other features associated with Christian identity such as renunciation of wealth and beauty, the experience of "seeing" Philip, monolatry, and miracle-working ability.⁵⁷

"Jewish" in APh^A 5–7

Since the linguistic discussion below will also explore how speech patterns relate to "Jewish" identity, it is important to explain at this point why the chapter does not categorize characters such as Philip and Ireos as "Jews." This is not because they are portrayed as gentiles in the text, but because the literary construct "Jewish" is not a salient aspect of their identity. Quotation marks around the word "Jewish" in the chapter will serve as a reminder that at issue is a particular literary construct and not a question of theoretical non-gentile identity.

⁵⁶ Klaus Berger, "Jüdisch-hellenistische Missionsliteratur und apokryphe Apostelakten," *Kairos* 17 (1975): 240–45.

⁵⁷ Nercella's macarism in APh^A 5.20 may also indicate emerging Christian identity, since hostile characters do not use the term μακάριος, "blessed" in the episode. Nercella (APh^A 5.23.4) and members of her household (APh^A 5.25.7) proclaim themselves "blessed," and both Philip (APh^A 5.25.1, 3, 4) and Nercella (APh^A 5.20.3) offer beatitudes. The term has similarly non-hostile connotations in other episodes. In APh^A 3, the sailors proclaim themselves "blessed" (APh^A 3.15.9, 10, 11), and the narrator uses the term referentially of Philip and John (APh^A 3.2.1; 3.3.7). In APh^A 8ff., the term is used referentially by Philip (APh^A 13.5.7; M.36.32) and by Jesus addressing him (APh^A M.29.13–14, 15). It appears twice in APh^A 1 (APh^A 1.3.7; 1.17.4). For vocative uses, see below, p. 171 n. 68.

Some characters are explicitly labeled “Jews” in the text. These include Aristarchus, μέγας ὢν ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, “who was great among the Jews” (APh^A 6.9.3–4), and his “Jewish” retinue. The “Jewish” identity of these characters is repeatedly emphasized: Aristarchus is called ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, “the Jew” by the narrator (APh^A 6.13.10; 6.18.5; cf. 6.16.2), city leaders (APh^A 6.15.12), and the populace (APh^A 6.18.11), and describes himself as μέγας...ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, “great among the Jews” (APh^A 6.9.9). The narrator also refers to Aristarchus’ companions as “Jews” (APh^A 6.11.6; 6.13.3; 6.15.5; cf. 7.3.1).⁵⁸

In contrast to Aristarchus and his companions, other characters who could be considered Jewish on a theoretical level are not actually characterized that way in the text. There is no hint from the narrator that Philip could be described as “Jewish,” for instance, despite his knowledge of Isaiah and other prophetic texts (APh^A 6.14), nor does he seem to consider himself “Jewish.” It is also worth observing that Philip explicitly applies the term “Jew” to some of his opponents: he addresses Aristarchus as ὁ Ἰουδαῖε, “Jew” (APh^A 6.18.6) and tells a character named Nereus not to harm Ἰουδαίους, “the Jews” (APh^A 6.19.3–4; cf. 6.21.13–14).⁵⁹ Although Philip as a historical figure could have been considered a non-gentile, he is not therefore actually depicted as a “Jew” in APh^A 5–7.⁶⁰

Except for the very first moment he is introduced, Ireos is not characterized as a “Jew,” either. Before Ireos is introduced, the narrator announces that Philip faces opposition from Nicaterans in general (APh^A 5.5) and also from Ἰουδαῖοι, “Jews” (APh^A 5.6.1). The narrator then reports that τίς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄρχων ὀνόματι Ἡρεῶς, “one of their leaders named Ireos” attempted to dissuade αὐτοῖς, “them,” from treating Philip with injustice and violence (APh^A 5.6.3). As commentators have universally concluded, this statement seems to indicate that Ireos is a “Jew,” although it is theoretically possible that “one of their leaders” is meant to include the non-“Jewish” crowd mentioned in the immediately

⁵⁸ The narrative depicts the opposition to Philip of Aristarchus and “those with him” (APh^A 6.11.6; 6.13.2–3) as a corporate activity.

⁵⁹ Nereus had offered to combat κατὰ Ἰουδαίων, “against the Jews” (APh^A 6.19.2; cf. 6.21.12).

⁶⁰ Philip’s use of the term “Jewish” does not in and of itself exclude him from that category (cf. APh^A 6.9.9), but the general tenor of his remarks certainly gives that impression. “Jews” also treat Philip as an outsider, addressing him as ὁ ξένης, “stranger” and speaking of “our people” in a way that suggests Philip does not qualify: θεράπευσον τὸν πρῶτον τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν, “Heal the first of our people” (APh^A 6.11.9).

preceding context.⁶¹ Regardless, Ireos is not characterized as a “Jew” in the rest of the episode. The narrator never again uses the term “Jew” to describe him, nor are any marked “Jewish” traits attributed to him. In fact, even when Ireos first speaks, his words push against “Jewish” identity. When he attempts to dissuade “them”—those of whom he is a leader—from harming Philip, he calls them ὧ ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ συμπολῖται, “friends and fellow citizens” (APh^A 5.6.4), a form of address that hardly marks Ireos as a “Jew” addressing fellow “Jews.” Ireos also differs from characters who are concurrently labeled “Jews” by defending Philip rather than opposing him,⁶² and by converting to Philip’s faith.⁶³ Even if he is implicitly labeled a “Jew” in the first scene, therefore, he is not characterized that way at any point thereafter, and will not be considered a “Jewish” speaker or addressee in this chapter.⁶⁴

References to Philip

The first speech patterns to be examined are references to Philip. As will now be demonstrated, these seem to co-vary with the Christian status of speakers in the episode.

Amongst themselves, hostile Nicaterans refer to Philip as:

⁶¹ Cf. Amsler, *Commentarius*, 228. There is no break between APh^A 5.5 and APh^A 5.6 in the manuscript. Considering Ireos a Jew are are ibid., 228–29, 517; Peterson, “Die Häretiker,” 99; Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4483; Matthews, *Philip*, 187; Lipsius, “Acten,” 462.

⁶² Corporate opposition to Philip by “Jews” is noted by the narrator (e.g., APh^A 5.6.1; 6.1.2–3; 6.5.3; 6.9.1) and by several characters (APh^A 5.9.2–3; 6.19.2–4; 6.21.12–14).

⁶³ Otherwise, “Jews” never convert, in contrast to the rest of the Nicaterans. In APh^A 7, “Jews” seem to be the only non-Christians left. One also observes an interesting juxtaposition of “Jewish” and “Christian” in APh^A 6: the crowds refer to Aristarchus as “the Jew” (APh^A 6.18.11) and to Philip as τῷ χριστιανῷ, “the Christian” (APh^A 6.16.7–8). This reflects the sharp division between “Jewish” and “Christian” identities in the episode.

⁶⁴ Likewise, Nercella and Artemilla will not be categorized as “Jews,” since they are never actively characterized that way. Regarding Ireos’ possible “Jewish” identity in later scenes, it has been suggested that Ireos’ use of the term “synagogue” indicates “Jewishness.” In APh^V, Ireos offers to make his house συναγωγὴν χριστιανῶν, “a synagogue of Christians” (APh^V 5.8.13), and in APh^A, Ireos suggests building συναγωγὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “a synagogue in the name of Christ” (APh^A 7.2.2; cf. 7.4.3). Yet although Jews in APh^A 6 describe their own gathering with the same term (APh^A 6.13.6), it does not necessarily mark Jewish identity, as other commentators have already concluded. Bovon, for instance, disagrees with Zahn’s assertion that the term indicates Ireos’ Jewish origin, at least in APh^A 7 (see Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4490–91 and n. 194; cf. Zahn, *Forschungen*, 20 n. 2; Amsler, *Commentarius*, 228, 231, 517). Peterson suggests that the term was used for house gatherings by the ascetic community behind APh, pointing to the 4th c. Marcionite inscription from Deir Ali (Lebaba) as a parallel (Peterson, “Die Häretiker,” 102–3). Harland also cites several examples of associations in the Greco-Roman world that used the term “synagogue” (Harland, *Dynamics*, 40).

- ὁ ξένος, “the stranger” (APh^A 5.6.15, 18; 6.1.11; 6.3.6)
- ὁ φαρμακὸς οὗτος, “that sorcerer” (APh^A 5.6.16–17)
- ὁ φαρμακός, “the sorcerer” (APh^A 6.1.9)
- ὁ μάγος, “the magician” (APh^A 5.14.4; 6.1.8) and
- ὁ μάγος ὁ λεγόμενος Φίλιππος, “the magician called Philip” (APh^A 6.1.5–6).

Addressing Ireos, they refer to Philip as:

- τοῦ ξένου, “the stranger” (APh^A 6.3.10; 6.5.1–2) and
- ἐκεῖνος ὁ μάγος, “that magician” (APh^A 6.3.14).

Converging on Ireos’ house, they cry out, δὸς ἡμῖν τὸν πλάνον, δὸς ἡμῖν τὸν μάγον, ἐξαγάγετε τὸν μάγον, “Give us the deceiver! Give us the magician! Bring out the magician!” (APh^A 6.6.2–3), and when Philip appears, they proclaim, ἰδοὺ οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ μάγος, “This is the magician” (APh^A 6.6.7; cf. 6.7.11–12), calling for τοῦ πλάνου, “the deceiver,” to be bound and flogged (APh^A 6.6.12–13).

Before her conversion process begins, Nercella also refers to Philip in similar terms.

Addressing Ireos, she mentions τινὸς ξένου μάγου Φιλίππου, “Philip, a certain stranger and magician” (APh^A 5.9.3), and τὸν μάγον ἐκεῖνον, “that magician” (APh^A 5.9.11), and she tells Ireos she does not want to be seen by ξένῳ ἀνθρώπῳ, “a stranger” (APh^A 5.14.14; cf. 5.16.7).

The social significance of these references to Philip comes into focus when they are contrasted with the speech patterns of less hostile characters.⁶⁵ Ireos, for instance, never refers to Philip as a “magician,” “sorcerer,” or “deceiver.” In APh^A 6, he even pronounces such language blasphemy, saying to the crowds, ἐτολμήσατε βλασφημῆσαι λέγοντες ὅτι μάγος ἐστὶν ὁ Φίλιππος, “You have dared to blaspheme, saying, ‘Philip is a

⁶⁵ On accusations of “magic” in Christian literature, see above, p. 154 n. 30. There may be one or two other substantive references to Philip by hostile characters (other than “Jews”): according to the narrator, the crowds are concerned because ἦλθεν Φίλιππος ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “Philip, the disciple of Christ has come” (APh^A 5.2.2–3), and worry what may result if οὗτος, “this one” (APh^A 5.2.5) is allowed to remain in the city. The reference to Philip as “the disciple of Christ” should probably be attributed to the narrator, however, because elsewhere in the episode the term μαθητής, “disciple” only appears in narration.

magician” (APh^A 6.18.13–14). His concern is also reflected at a narrative level: only hostile characters ever refer to Philip as a “magician” in the episode.

It is also interesting to observe how Ireos’ references to Philip contrast those of more hostile characters in each particular scene. Although Ireos’ own Christian identity only gradually develops over the course of the episode, he almost always displays more markers of Christian identity than other Nicaterans, and also refers to Philip in more positive ways, as an examination of some of these pairings reveals. At the beginning of APh^A 5, for instance, hostile crowds refer to “the stranger” (APh^A 5.6.15, 18) and “that sorcerer” (APh^A 5.6.16–17); but Ireos refers to Philip as ἀνδρὶ ξένῳ, “a stranger” (APh^A 5.6.5), and, in prayer, τοῦ σοῦ ἀποστόλου, “your apostle” (APh^A 5.8.11–12).

Similarly, Nercella in her conversation with Ireos refers to Philip as “a certain stranger and magician” (APh^A 5.9.3), “that magician” (APh^A 5.9.11), and “a stranger” (APh^A 5.14.14; cf. 5.16.7); but Ireos refers to him as:

- τοῦ ξένου, “the stranger” (APh^A 5.10.2–3)
- τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ, “the man of God” (APh^A 5.10.6–7)
- ἄνθρωπος...τοῦ θεοῦ, “a man of God” (APh^A 5.10.10)
- θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον, “a man of God” (APh^A 5.18.3) and
- ἅγιος, “holy” (APh^A 5.10.8).

In the next scene, Nicaterans are upset to see “the magician” escorted home by Ireos (APh^A 5.14.4), but Ireos calls out for his gates to be opened τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, “for the man of God” (APh^A 5.14.6–7). Finally, in APh^A 6 hostile Nicaterans refer to Philip as “the stranger,” “the sorcerer,” “the deceiver,” and “the magician,” but Ireos speaks of:

- τοῦ δικαίου ἀνδρός, “the righteous man” (APh^A 6.2.14–15; 6.4.2)
- τὸν δίκαιον, “the righteous man” (APh^A 6.7.8–9)
- τὸν ἄνδρα, “the man” (APh^A 6.7.3) and
- ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, “the man of God” (APh^A 6.4.3–4).

In addition to contrasting the speech patterns of less Christian characters, Ireos’ references to Philip also become increasingly positive over the course of the episode, a

trend that corresponds with other indications that his Christian identity is becoming increasingly established. When Ireos refers to Philip indirectly as “a stranger” at APh^A 5.6.5, he has not yet met Philip and displays no markers of Christian identity. When his dialogue with Nercella takes place, during which he refers to Philip as “the stranger” and “the man of God,” Ireos has met Philip and has expressed a desire to affiliate with him, but has not yet fully understood Christian practices such as the renunciation of wealth. Notably, it is in the middle of this scene that Ireos summons golden chairs for Philip and his colleagues (APh^A 5.15). In APh^A 6, however, when Ireos begins to refer to Philip more positively as “the righteous man,” he is also being portrayed as a more established Christian. Ireos is hosting Philip and a gathering of “brothers” at his home (APh^A 6.1.1–2), has changed clothes (APh^A 6.3.2), and has reduced the size of his slave retinue (APh^A 6.3.3–4). Like Philip, Ireos even exercises miraculous powers in this scene (APh^A 6.12).⁶⁶ Ireos’ references to Philip thus develop in parallel with his Christian status.⁶⁷

Ireos’ evolving Christian status also seems to be reflected in his forms of address for Philip. When Ireos first meets Philip, he calls him ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, “man of God” (APh^A 5.8.2), but in APh^A 6, he calls him μακάριε, “blessed one” (APh^A 6.5.10). That these forms of address correlate with different stages of Christian identity is suggested by the contexts in which they are used elsewhere in the episode. Philip is addressed as “man of God” by Artemilla, who has only just met him (APh^A 5.24.5), and called “blessed one” by his ministerial colleagues (APh^A 5.13.1).⁶⁸

⁶⁶ His evolving Christian status is also indicated by the fact that he has adopted a vegetarian diet (APh^A 5.26.2).

⁶⁷ Ireos’ references to “the righteous man” also contrast his maid’s greeting hostile characters as ὄνδρες ἄδικοι, “unjust men” (APh^A 6.2.6).

⁶⁸ Two other forms of address are used for Philip in the episode: first name address is employed by Aristarchus (APh^A 6.11.5; 6.13.11, 16; 6.15.1), the crowds (APh^A 6.12.17), and Jesus (APh^A 7.8.1); and a group of hostile “Jews” address him as “stranger” (APh^A 6.11.9). For reference, “blessed one” also appears as a form of address in APh^A 3, where Philip addresses John and Peter as μακάριε Ἰωάννη, “blessed John,” and μακάριε Πέτρε, “blessed Peter” (APh^A 3.3.2–3). In the latter act, Philip is only addressed by name—by John (APh^A 3.2.7), a voice from heaven (APh^A 3.3.6), and Jesus (APh^A 3.9.8)—and called ἀδελφέ μου καὶ συναπόστολε, “my brother and fellow apostle” by John (APh^A 3.2.2). In APh^A 4, Philip is addressed by name, by demons (APh^A 4.1.6). For forms of address in APh^A 8ff., see below, p. 197. Dickey remarks that first name address is widespread in early Greek literature, but less common in Roman era papyri (Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address*, 46–50; Dickey, “Greek Address System,” 501). She observes that ξένε, “stranger,” in early Greek

The speech patterns of the crowds, like those of Ireos, also seem to evolve along with their Christian status. Before Philip's debate with Aristarchus, the crowds refer to Philip as "magician," "sorcerer," "stranger," and "deceiver." At this point in the narrative, they display no interest in adopting a Christian identity, and seem determined to exclude Philip from the city. When Philip prevails in the debate, however, the crowd wonders why they should continue to oppose τῷ Φιλίππῳ, "Philip" (APh^A 6.15.7); their leaders announce, "[Y]our gods have led Philip into the city" (APh^A 6.15.8–9)⁶⁹; and they decide to urge "Philip" (APh^A 6.15.15–16) to stay in the city for their salvation. It is striking that as the crowds become less hostile to Philip, they stop referring to him as "stranger" and "magician" and begin to use his name (cf. APh^A 6.19.7).⁷⁰

Philip's name is also used by some converting characters at the end of the scene: Theophilus' parents anticipate believing that "the only living god is that of Philip" (APh^A 6.17.11–12); Theophilus exclaims, "There is one god, that of Philip" (APh^A 6.20.11–12); the crowds affirm, "There is one god, that of Philip" (APh^A 6.20.14–15); and they exclaim, "There is no other living god except that of Philip" (APh^A 6.20.17–18). Although these acclamations are stylized, use of Philip's name nevertheless contrasts previous references to Philip as "magician," "sorcerer," and "deceiver," and seems to correspond to development in the speakers' Christian status.⁷¹

Regarding specific terminology, it has already been remarked that only hostile characters in APh^A 5–7 refer to Philip as "the magician," and that only the more established Christian Ireos calls him "the righteous man." The social connotations of "stranger" and

literature was typically used by natives addressing foreigners, in contexts where the interlocutors were not well-acquainted but not completely unknown to one another, and usually where the name of the addressee was not known. It was often neutral, and occasionally even friendly (Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address*, 145–49). It is certainly not friendly at APh^A 6.11.9, however.

⁶⁹ This is emended to "our gods" by Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler, *Acta Philippi*, 207.

⁷⁰ They also refer to Philip as τῷ χριστιανῷ, "the Christian" (APh^A 6.16.7), which may intentionally contrast references to Aristarchus as "the Jew" (APh^A 6.15.12; 6.18.11).

⁷¹ On acclamations of this sort, see above, p. 164 n. 51. The prevalence of first name references to Philip in this scene could be explained by different underlying sources or by a simple shift in style, which would be supported by the fact that Ireos (APh^A 6.21.13) and Theophilus' father (APh^A 6.21.12) also refer to Philip by name in this section of the narrative. A subsequent reference to Philip as "the stranger" by Jews (APh^A 7.3.3) suggests intentionality in references to Philip throughout the episode, however.

“man of God,” meanwhile, are more nuanced. We will now see that Philip is referred to as “stranger” by both hostile characters and some who have already begun the conversion process, but that characters at more advanced stages of Christian identity do not speak this way. Hostile characters who refer to Philip as “the stranger” include Nicaterans (APh^A 5.6.15, 18; 6.3.6, 10; 6.5.1–2), Nercella (APh^A 5.9.3), Aristarchus (APh^A 6.13.4), and other “Jews” (APh^A 7.3.3).⁷² Other characters who refer to Philip as “stranger” show signs of emerging Christian identity: when Ireos tells Nercella that she will believe in “the god proclaimed by the stranger” (APh^A 5.10.2–3), his conversion process has already begun, and Nercella’s “unbelief” has already fallen away when she asks Ireos about the consequences of becoming disciples of “the stranger” (APh^A 5.20.13; cf. 5.20.10). Similarly, when Artemilla tells her mother that she will change her clothes if it is τὸ θέλημα τοῦ ξένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ, “the will of the stranger, the man of God” (APh^A 5.21.7), she is certainly not portrayed as a hostile character, and the very fact that she can call Philip “the stranger, the man of God” in the same breath suggests that the former is not inherently pejorative, as will be explained shortly. Nevertheless, established Christians never speak this way, and those who do all lack at least some salient markers of Christian identity. When Ireos calls Philip “the stranger” he may be imitating his wife’s speech patterns, but it is still worth noting that he has not yet fully renounced wealth. As for Nercella and Artemilla, they have not yet seen Philip when they speak of him as a “stranger,” and he is in that sense literally a stranger to them. This way of speaking may therefore indicate that the speaker is not yet at an advanced stage of Christian identity.⁷³

Artemilla’s calling Philip “the stranger, the man of God” suggests that the former is not inherently pejorative because the expression “the man of God” is never used by hostile characters in the episode. It does not always indicate advanced Christian identity, however. When Artemilla refers to Philip as “the stranger, the man of God” she has not yet met him (APh^A 5.21.7), and Ireos uses the latter expression referentially as a new

⁷² The latter also refer to Philip by name (APh^A 7.3.3). Since these “Jews” have already seen Philip and heard him speak, “stranger” clearly implies more than simply non-acquaintance.

⁷³ The fact that established Christians never refer to Philip as “the stranger” makes sense given that one aspect of full Christian identity in the episode is associating with Philip, i.e., not being in a position to call him “stranger.”

Christian (APh^A 5.10.6–7, 10; 5.14.6–7; 5.18.3) as well as a more established one (APh^A 6.4.3–4). The expression therefore seems to indicate a positive attitude toward Philip, but not necessarily the precise Christian status of the one who speaks.⁷⁴

To summarize, references to Philip in APh^A 5–7 correspond with the Christian status of speakers in a number of ways. Ireos consistently refers to Philip in more positive ways than do less Christian characters in the same scenes, and his own references to Philip become increasingly positive as his Christian identity becomes more established. A similar trend toward more positive references to Philip is also displayed in the speech patterns of converting Nicateran crowds. Regarding particular terms, “magician,” “sorcerer,” and “deceiver” are only applied to Philip by hostile characters; only characters of at least emerging Christian identity call Philip “man of God”; and only characters of more advanced Christian status refer to him as “the righteous man” or call him “blessed one.”

References to Jesus/God

It will now be demonstrated that references to Jesus/God in the episode co-vary with the Christian status of speakers, and that some of Ireos’ speech patterns may reflect the identity of his addressees. In this section, Philip’s speech patterns will be considered first, followed by those of non-Christian and emerging Christian characters. References to Jesus/God by “Jewish” characters will be discussed separately.

⁷⁴ As a form of address, “man of God” is only used by Ireos when not yet a Christian (APh^A 5.8.2), and by Artemilla when she and Philip have just met (APh^A 5.24.5). In APh^A 4, the expression is used by a non-hostile non-Christian crowd (APh^A 4.1.9), and by Philip addressing his soul (APh^A 4.3.12). For use in APh^A 8ff., see below, p. 197. Bovon comments with respect to APh 4, “L’apôtre, comme souvent dans les Actes de Philippe, est considéré comme un μάγος par ceux qui s’endurcissent et comme un homme de Dieu par ceux qui franchissent la porte de la foi” (Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4483). He remarks that it is a Biblical expression also used in other early Christian Acts such as the *Acts of John by Prochorus* (ibid., 4486). In the LXX, it appears both in narration and in direct speech, and is associated with Moses (e.g., Deut 33:1; Josh 14:6; 1 Chr 23:14; Ezra 3:2), Elijah/Elisha (e.g., 1 Ki 17; 2 Ki 1, 4, 6, 8), David (e.g., 2 Chr 8:14; Neh 12:24), and other prophets (e.g., 1 Sam 2:27; 1 Ki 12:22; 21:28; 2 Chr 11:2; 25:7ff.). Even when used by Elijah’s opponents, it may be respectful. It appears twice in the New Testament (1 Tim 6:11; 2 Tim 3:17), applicable to Christians in general, and is used by Christian writers such as Ignatius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Origen. Peterson notes uses in Pseudo-Makarius. See, e.g., *Hom.* 16.4 and the beginning of the Great Letter (Peterson, “Zum Messalianismus,” 173 n. 1).

References to Jesus/God by Philip

Noteworthy features of Philip's references to Jesus/God include the fact that he only infrequently employs the term θεός, "god," and that he sometimes makes references to "the lord Jesus" and "the Lord." These differ from the speech patterns of most other characters. It is also interesting that his references to Jesus/God do not vary meaningfully with the Christian status of his addressees.

Addressing ministry colleagues in APh^A 5, Philip refers to:

- εἰς ὃν ἐκ ψυχῆς ἠλπικαμεν πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτῷ, "the one in whom we have hoped from the soul, trusting in him" (APh^A 5.3.2–3)
- Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, "Jesus [the] Christ" (APh^A 5.3.5)
- ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ δίκαιος ἀθλητὴς ὁ δυνάμενος ῥύσασθαι ἡμᾶς, "Christ, the righteous athlete who is able to deliver us" (APh^A 5.4.3–4)
- ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, "the lord Jesus" (APh^A 5.4.8–9) and
- ὁ θεός, "God" (APh^A 5.26.9).⁷⁵

Addressing Ireos in APh^A 6, where the latter is a fairly established Christian, Philip refers to:

- ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς ὃν ἠλπικα, "Jesus in whom I have hoped" (APh^A 6.5.14–16)
- ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, "the name of Jesus" (APh^A 6.5.19)
- τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μου, "the glory of my Christ" (APh^A 6.5.17–18) and
- τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, "the cross of Christ" (APh^A 6.12.3).

Addressing Christian ἀδελφοί, "brothers" (APh^A 7.5.3) in APh^A 7, Philip mentions:

- θέλημα θεοῦ, "the will of God" (APh^A 7.5.6)
- τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, "the will of Christ" (APh^A 7.5.4; 7.6.6)
- τῇ φυτείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, "the plantation of Christ" (APh^A 7.5.7–8)
- τὴν χάριν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, "the grace of Christ" (APh^A 7.5.9)
- ὁ κύριός μου, "my lord" (APh^A 7.6.4)

⁷⁵ The context is God's will: Philip tells the disciples that whatever ὁ θεός, "God" wants for him will be (APh^A 5.26.9).

- ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (APh^A 7.6.6)
- ἡ τοῦ κυρίου ἀντίληψις, “the support of the Lord” (APh^A 7.8.7–8) and
- ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, “the grace and glory and love of the lord Jesus” (APh^A 7.8.5–6).

Addressing Nercella and Artemilla in APh^A 7, Philip also mentions ὁ σωτήρ, “the savior” (APh^A 7.1.7), and in APh^A 6 his ministerial colleagues recall his referring to ἀγαλλιώμενος ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ μου, “rejoicing in my Christ” (APh^A 6.22.2–3).

Noteworthy features of Philip’s references to Jesus/God cited above, those addressed to established Christians, are how infrequently he uses the term θεός, “god,” and that he employs the term κύριος, “lord,” on a number of occasions. Interestingly, he speaks similarly when addressing non-Christian and emerging Christian characters:

- The first time he meets Ireos, Philip tells him that ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, “the lord Jesus” (APh^A 5.7.8–9) will grant him rest on the day of judgment.
- When Ireos replies that he has prepared himself for salvation, Philip affirms that ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” will grant his request (APh^A 5.8.4).
- Philip also mentions εἰρήνη Χριστοῦ, “the peace of Christ” to Ireos (APh^A 5.7.3).
- After Ireos calls for golden chairs, Philip tells him that ὁ Ἰησοῦς, “Jesus” can take away sins (APh^A 5.16.4).
- Philip later tells members of Ireos’ household that they will be saved διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, “by Jesus” (APh^A 5.24.1–2).
- Addressing converting characters in Ireos’ household, Philip offers beatitudes for those who follow τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, “the word of Jesus,” receive τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, “the word of God,” and despise worldly glory (APh^A 5.25.1–5).
- Addressing Aristarchus, Philip refers to ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὁ μηδέποτε ἡμῶν ἀπολειπόμενος, “Jesus who never abandons us” (APh^A 6.12.11–12).
- Philip tells a crowd what Isaiah and David say concerning τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the messiah” (APh^A 6.14.3, 22, 27).
- Philip urges slaves who are now ἐλεύθεροι διὰ Χριστόν, “free through Christ” (APh^A 6.21.5–6) not to neglect their salvation.
- Crowds in APh^A 5 report that Philip teaches, ἡ ἀγνεία...ὁμιλεῖ τῷ θεῷ, “Purity associates with God” (APh^A 5.5.6–7), and about τινος Ἰησοῦ, “a certain Jesus”

(APh^A 5.5.8), implying that Philip has used the terms “God” and “Jesus” with this non-Christian audience.⁷⁶

There are some differences between the latter references to Jesus/God and how Philip speaks to established Christians, but there are also notable similarities, especially when contrasted with the speech patterns of non-Christian characters. Regardless of his addressees, Philip uses the term “god” only infrequently, and he uses the term “lord” both when addressing established Christians and when addressing Ireos at a point when the latter has only recently expressed interest in Philip’s god.

References to Jesus/God by Non-Christians and Emerging Christians (Not “Jews”)

Philip’s ways of referring to Jesus/God contrast how non-Christians and emerging Christians speak, especially those speakers who are not “Jews.” When non-Christians and emerging Christians refer to Jesus/God, they almost always employ the term θεός, “god,” often doing so in a modified form. They never use the term κύριος, “lord.”

Dialogue between Ireos and Nercella in APh^A 5 illustrates these patterns:

- Ireos speaks of τῷ διὰ τοῦ ξένου κηρυττομένῳ θεῷ, “the god proclaimed by the stranger” (APh^A 5.10.2–3), and tells Nercella that it would be wonderful for their house to be οἰκητήριον τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ, “the dwelling of his god” (APh^A 5.9.4–5).
- When Nercella asks the difference between ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ, “his god,” and οἱ θεοὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν, “the gods of our city” (APh^A 5.11.1–2), Ireos replies that, unlike οἱ...θεοὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν, “the gods of our city” (APh^A 5.11.5), ὁ...θεὸς αὐτοῦ θεὸς ζῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, δυνατός ὑπερηφάνους θραύσαι, πονηρευομένους ἀφανίσαι, “His god is a god who lives in heaven, able to shatter the arrogant, to obliterate the wicked” (APh^A 5.11.3).
- Nercella agrees to allow Philip into the house, whether such is Ireos’ desire or θέλημα...οὔτερ λέγεις θεοῦ, “the will of the god of whom you speak” (APh^A 5.11.6).
- Ireos refers to Philip as τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ, “the man of God” (APh^A 5.10.6–7), ἄνθρωπος...τοῦ θεοῦ, “a man of God” (APh^A 5.10.10), and θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον, “a man of God” (APh^A 5.18.3).
- Ireos counsels Nercella that ὁ θεὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου, “the god of this man” (APh^A 5.20.5) is able to relieve all her sufferings.

⁷⁶ APh^A 6.7.14–15 may or may not paraphrase Philip.

In APh^A 5, Ireos also calls for his gates to be opened τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, “for the man of God” (APh^A 5.14.6–7) and Artemilla refers to Philip as τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ, “the man of God” (APh^A 5.21.7).

Compared with Philip’s references to Jesus/God, the frequency of the term “god” in the latter data set is striking, as is the fact that many of the references to “god” are modified. Similar ways of speaking are also attributed to other characters, including some other non-Christians:

- Crowds report, ἐσταυρωμένον λέγει θεὸν θεοῦ ζῶντος υἱόν, “[Philip] says that a crucified god is a son of a living god” (APh^A 6.7.14–15).
- They promise that εἰ...τίς ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ θεός, “if there is some god in [Philip]” (APh^A 6.16.8), and he raises Theophilus, they will believe.⁷⁷

The term “god” is also employed in acclamations by emerging Christian characters:

- Some people exclaim, εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ Φιλίππου, “Blessed be Philip’s god” (APh^A 5.27.5).
- Theophilus’ parents promise to believe that θεὸς ζῶν μόνος ὁ Φιλίππου ὁ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνιστῶν, “the only living god is that of Philip, the one who raises the dead” (APh^A 6.17.11–12).
- Theophilus exclaims, εἷς θεὸς ὁ Φιλίππου Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὃς ἔδωκέν μοι τὸ ζῆν, “There is one god, that of Philip, Christ Jesus who has given me life” (APh^A 6.20.11–12).
- Crowds exclaim, εἷς θεὸς ὁ Φιλίππου Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνιστῶν, “There is one god, that of Philip, Christ Jesus who raises the dead” (APh^A 6.20.14–15).
- They continue, οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς ἕτερος ζῶν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Φιλίππου ὁ ποιῶν τὰ μεγαλεῖα δι’ αὐτοῦ, “There is no other living god except that of Philip, who does marvels through him” (APh^A 6.20.17–18).

In fact, the term “god” is so prevalent that it is almost ubiquitous in the speech of emerging Christians and non-“Jewish” non-Christian characters. The former always use this term when they speak of Jesus/God, and the latter only make three references to Jesus/God that do not involve it:

⁷⁷ City leaders also announce, οἱ θεοὶ ὑμῶν [sic] εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἤγαγον τὸν Φίλιππον, “[Y]our gods have led Philip into the city” (APh^A 6.15.8–9).

- In APh^A 5, crowds report that Philip has been teaching about τινος Ἰησοῦ, “a certain Jesus” (APh^A 5.5.8).
- In APh^A 6, the crowds tell Philip that if he wins the debate with Aristarchus, πιστεύσωμεν τῷ διὰ σοῦ κηρυττομένῳ Χριστῷ, “We will believe in the messiah you proclaim” (APh^A 6.12.20–21).
- After the debate, crowds mention ὁ Χριστός, “the messiah” amongst themselves (APh^A 6.15.13, 15).

The reference to “a certain Jesus” may paraphrase Philip himself, and the crowds’ use of term “messiah” probably reflects the literary focus of APh^A 6, as will be explained below. Regardless, the overall frequency with which both emerging Christians and non-“Jewish” non-Christians employ the term “god” is striking when compared with how Philip speaks, as is the fact that many such references to “god” are modified.

References to Jesus/God by “Jews”

“Jews” also use the term “god,” but not exclusively. A term that appears frequently in APh^A 6 is χριστός, “messiah,” its heightened incidence due to the fact that much of the act focusses on a debate between Philip and the “Jewish” Aristarchus about whether or not Jesus is “the messiah.” Numerous Scriptures are cited during the debate,⁷⁸ and the term is also mentioned in other contexts:

- Aristarchus asks Philip to debate about τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the messiah” (APh^A 6.12.16–17).
- Philip tells the crowd what Isaiah and David say concerning τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the messiah” (APh^A 6.14.3, 22, 27).
- Once he has heard Philip’s speech, Aristarchus appears partially convinced and replies, οὗτος Ἰησοῦς καὶ Χριστὸς λέγεται, “This one is called Jesus and Messiah” (APh^A 6.15.1–2), and he quotes Isaiah regarding χριστόν, “the messiah” (APh^A 6.15.2).⁷⁹
- Other “Jews” then reprimand Aristarchus for bringing up τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεγραμμένα, “the things written about the messiah” (APh^A 6.15.6).

Although Philip probably has Jesus in mind when he speaks of “the messiah,” some of “Jewish” speakers may not. There is no need to distinguish between such instances here, however, because the sheer variety of social contexts in which the term is used means

⁷⁸ References to Jesus/God in Scriptural citations will not be discussed in this chapter.

⁷⁹ Although the text is defective, the quote begins, τάδε λέγει κύριος τῷ χριστῷ μου κυρίῳ, “Thus says the Lord to my anointed lord” (APh^A 6.15.3).

that it does not relate meaningfully either to the Christian status or the “Jewish” status of speakers or addressees. Speakers who mention “the messiah” include Christians, “Jews,” and non-Christians who are not “Jews,” and Philip uses the term addressing both established Christians and some who show fewer signs of Christian identity.⁸⁰

There is a way in which references to Jesus/God by “Jews” differ from those of other speakers, however. “Jews” use the term “god” more frequently than Philip, and unlike the apostle, they never refer to “the lord Jesus” or “the savior.” Their speech patterns also contrast those of other non-Christians insofar as they never modify the term “god.”

“Jewish” speakers employ the term “god” on several occasions:

- Aristarchus cites Philip as saying that Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, “Jesus the crucified” is θεόν, “[a] God” (APh^A 6.9.5).
- Aristarchus’ Jewish companions tell Philip, θεὸν ἔχεις ἀληθῶς, ὃ ξένε· θεράπευσον τὸν πρῶτον τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωποι ὄντες θεῷ μάχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμεθα, “You truly have [a] God, stranger. Heal the first of our people, since truly, being human, we cannot fight against [a] God” (APh^A 6.11.8–10).
- Aristarchus asks Philip how he can say that τὸν Ἰησοῦν...ἔστιν θεός, “Jesus...is [a] God” (APh^A 6.13.17).
- He admits on the basis of Genesis, οὗτός ἐστι δύναμις θεοῦ καὶ θεοῦ σοφία, ὃς συμπαρεῖν τῷ θεῷ ὅτε τὸν κόσμον ἐποίηι, “He is the power of God and the wisdom of God, who was with God when he made the world” (APh^A 6.13.19–20).⁸¹
- In APh^A 7, “Jews” observe that the Christians’ grace and power and glory are truly ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, “from God” (APh^A 7.3.5).

When compared with how other non-Christians speak, it is striking that all singular references to “god” by “Jewish” speakers are unmodified. It is also striking that several are anarthrous, an unusual way of speaking in APh^A, in which most of the 138 references to θεός, including 58 of 69 occurrences in APh^A 5–7, employ the article.⁸² This raises

⁸⁰ In addition to instances already cited, the term is also used by Ireos addressing Philip in APh^A 7: he asks where they should build a place of assembly ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “in the name of Christ” (APh^A 7.2.2). Note that the term χριστός, “messiah” is routinely abbreviated in the manuscript, regardless of speaker or addressee, and that it is not therefore possible to distinguish orthographically between references to “the messiah” and to “Christ.”

⁸¹ Context suggests that “the messiah” is the antecedent of οὗτος.

⁸² Including both singular and plural instances.

questions about how anarthrous references to “god” by “Jewish” speakers should be understood. Elsewhere in APh^A, almost all anarthrous references to “god,” apart from genitival constructions such as θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, “man of God,”⁸³ seem to refer generically to “a god.”⁸⁴ Are “Jews” also portrayed as speaking of “a god” among others, or are they depicted as referring to the same singular “God” as Christian characters? It is difficult to say. On the one hand, “Jews” never speak of plural “gods” or use modified “god” phrases like other non-Christians. Yet when Aristarchus’ companions speak of Philip’s “having [a] God” (APh^A 6.11.8), it bears a striking resemblance to a suggestion by a non-“Jewish” crowd that there may be a “god in him” (APh^A 6.16.8). It is not clear how different the worldviews of “Jews” and other non-Christians are understood to be.

A final unique feature of dialogue involving “Jews” are three references to “the crucified.” First, Aristarchus says to Philip, συνζητήσόν μοι περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, “Debate with me concerning Jesus the crucified” (APh^A 6.9.4–5). After having him maimed, Philip instructs Ireos to heal Aristarchus by making the sign of “the cross of Christ” (APh^A 6.12.3), and Ireos pronounces the Jewish leader healed ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, “in the name of the crucified” (APh^A 6.12.4). Finally, Aristarchus adjures Philip κατὰ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, “by the crucified” not to harm him again (APh^A 6.12.14). The theme of Jesus’ crucifixion runs strongly throughout the scene and has clearly influenced these references to Jesus/God. Two related observations

⁸³ The anarthrous genitive θεοῦ, “of god” appears in APh^A 5–7 with φόβος, “fear” (APh^A 5.1.9); θέλημα, “will” (APh^A 5.11.6; 7.5.6); ἄνθρωπος, “man” (APh^A 5.18.3); δύναμις, “power” (APh^A 6.13.19); σοφία, “wisdom” (APh^A 6.13.19); and, in the phrase “living god,” with υἱός, “son” (APh^A 6.7.15). In other episodes, it appears with ἀπόστολος, “apostle” (APh^A 1.2.10; 1.16.1); ἄγγελος, “angel” (APh^A 1.4.6); δούλος, “servant” (APh^A 1.10.23); ἄνθρωπος, “man” (APh^A 4.1.9); δύναμις, “power” (APh^A 14.8.4); and as ἐκκλησία θεοῦ ζῶντος, “a church of the living god” (APh^A 11.6.12).

⁸⁴ Some anarthrous references spoken by non-“Jews” in APh^A 5–7 are predicative, ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ θεὸς ζῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, “His god is a god living in the heavens” (APh^A 5.11.3); possessive (plural), ἔχομεν ὑμετέρους [sic] θεούς, “We have [y]our gods” (APh^A 6.5.3); existential, εἷς θεός, “There is one god” (APh^A 6.20.11, 14; cf. 6.13.15), οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς ἕτερος ζῶν, “There is no other living god” (APh^A 6.20.17), θεὸς ζῶν μόνος ὁ Φιλίππου, “The only living god is that of Philip” (APh^A 6.17.11); and indefinite, ἐσταυρωμένον λέγει θεὸν θεοῦ ζῶντος υἱόν, “He says that a crucified god is a son of a living god” (APh^A 6.7.14–15), τις θεός, “some god” (APh^A 6.16.8). In other episodes, they are predicative (plural), εἰσι θεοί / θεοὶ εἰσιν, “[They] are gods” (APh^A 1.1.15; 14.3.5); and existential, εἷς θεός, “There is one god” (APh^A M.32.16). Probable definite references to “God”: θεὸς ἦν, “He was God” (APh^A M.35.4); θεὸν λαθεῖν, “escape notice of God” (APh^A 1.6.10).

are also worth making from a sociolinguistic perspective: first, that Jesus is only referred to as “the crucified” in this “Jewish” context, and secondly, that Ireos’ healing formula overtly imitates Aristarchus’ words. In this scene, he seems to “accommodate” his language to that of his addressee.⁸⁵

References to Jesus/God by Ireos

Ireos may also be depicted as accommodating linguistically in other scenes. In APh^A 6, for instance, where he is a fairly established Christian character, he still uses the term “god,” and sometimes even employs modified “god” phrases:

- Addressing Nicaterans, Ireos refers to Philip as ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, “the man of God,” and mentions τὸν ἰδίον θεόν, “his god” (APh^A 6.4.3–4).
- He says to crowds, ὧ ἄνδρες καὶ οἱ ἐναντιούμενοι τῷ θεῷ διὰ παντός, ἐτολμήσατε βλασφημῆσαι λέγοντες ὅτι μάγος ἐστὶν ὁ Φίλιππος· εἰ μὴ ἦν ἀγαθὸς ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ θεός, ἄρα ἂν ἐθανατώθητε πάντες, “Men and you who are always opposing God, you dared to blaspheme, saying that ‘Philip is a magician.’ If the god in him were not good, you would all have been put to death” (APh^A 6.18.12–15).

Ireos’ use of modified “god” phrases, and the frequency with which he uses the term “god,” differ from how Philip speaks, despite the fact that Ireos is portrayed as a more established Christian in APh^A 6 than in previous scenes. There are two possible explanations for this. On the one hand, it could indicate that Ireos’ Christian status is still less advanced than that of Philip and his ministry colleagues—since Philip’s ministry colleagues also use the expression ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, “the lord Jesus,” addressing the apostle (APh^A 5.13.2)—even at this late stage. Alternatively, Ireos could be depicted as accommodating linguistically to his addressees. His reference to “the crucified” addressing Aristarchus clearly imitates the speech patterns of his interlocutor, and his use of “god” and modified “god” phrases addressing non-Christian characters also resembles how they themselves speak. Especially striking is how both the Nicateran crowds and Ireos use the language of a “god in him” (APhA 6.16.8; 6.18.14–15).

⁸⁵ Regarding motivation, his words are probably a sarcastic way of proving the power of the messiah that Aristarchus denies. Discussing APh 1, Bovon comments that “crucified” is “almost a christological title” in APh (“Les Actes,” 4475). In APh^A 5–7, however, the term seems to be associated with a “Jewish” context.

Ireos may even be depicted as accommodating linguistically to Nercella in APh^A 5, where both speak of “his god” (APh^A 5.11.1–3). His use of modified “god” phrases is less striking in that context, however, because his Christian status is still developing, and because other emerging Christian characters also use modified “god” phrases in the episode. It is only in APh^A 6, where one might expect his speech patterns to more closely resemble those of Philip than those of non-Christian characters, that his continued use of modified “god” phrases comes to the fore. The best explanation for how he speaks in the latter context is that he is being depicted as accommodating to the linguistic tendencies of his non-Christian addressees.⁸⁶

Summary

To summarize, references to Jesus/God in APh^A 5–7 relate to both the Christian status and the “Jewish” or non-“Jewish” identity of speakers. Non-Christians, emerging Christians, and “Jews” frequently employ the term “god” and never refer to “the Lord,” in contrast to how Philip speaks: the latter rarely uses the term “god,” and makes several references to “the lord Jesus” and “the Lord,” differences that probably reflect his advanced Christian status. In this context, Ireos’ references to “god” in APh^A 6 could function to characterize him as a less advanced Christian than Philip and his ministerial colleagues, but it is more likely that he is portrayed in the latter scenes as accommodating linguistically to non-Christian addressees. References to Jesus/God also distinguish “Jews” from other non-Christian speakers: whereas the latter frequently modify the term “god,” “Jews” never do.

Implied and Intended Audience

Because Philip’s references to Jesus/God do not meaningfully co-vary with the Christian status of his addressees, this linguistic variable does not provide reliable information about the implied and intended audience. The narrator’s referring to “the Lord,” for instance (APh^A 7.1.2–3), does not necessarily indicate an established Christian audience since Philip speaks this way not only to established Christian “brothers” (APh^A 7.6.4; 7.6.6; 7.8.7–8), but also to Ireos in APh^A 5 (APh^A 5.7.8–9; 5.8.4). Nor does the narrator

⁸⁶ Ireos also makes one reference to Jesus/God in APh^A 7 that has not yet been cited: he says to Nereus, τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ γένεσθω, “May the will of God be done” (APh^A 7.2.11–12).

use any particular expressions, such as “the crucified” or modified “god” phrases, that would indicate a “Jewish” or other non-Christian audience.

The narrator’s references to Jesus/God will be listed here merely for comparative purposes.

The narrator makes a number of unmodified references to “God”:

- δοξάζων / ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν, “glorifying God” (APh^A 6.15.19; 6.21.2–3)
- τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ, “the marvels of God” (APh^A 5.1.6–7)
- φόβῳ θεοῦ, “fear of God” (APh^A 5.1.9)
- Giving thanks τῷ θεῷ, “to God” (APh^A 6.22.4)
- Saying to τῷ θεῷ, “to God” (APh^A 6.22.5)
- τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ, “the gift of God” (APh^A 7.4.7)
- The word given to Philip παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, “by God” (7.4.12)

The narrator also frequently refers to Jesus/God using other substantives:

- Ἰησοῦς, “Jesus,” as a character (APh^A 5.13.7)
- Praying πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, “to Jesus” (APh^A 5.19.2)
- Remembering τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, “Jesus” (APh^A 5.23.2)
- τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, “the glory of Jesus” (APh^A 5.27.3)
- Following τῷ Ἰησοῦ, “Jesus” (APh^A 6.8.5)
- Seeing τὸν Ἰησοῦν, “Jesus” (APh^A 6.18.1)
- ἐπονομάσας τὸν Ἰησοῦν, “invoking Jesus” (APh^A 7.7.7)
- Φίλιππος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος, “Philip, the apostle of Christ” (APh^A 5.1.1)
- Φίλιππος ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “Philip, the disciple of Christ” (APh^A 5.2.2–3)
- τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the grace of the revelation of Christ” (APh^A 5.1.4–5)
- τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the grace of Christ” (APh^A 5.4.11–12)
- τὴν διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the teaching of Christ” (APh^A 5.1.9)

- Believing εἰς τὸν Χριστόν / τῷ Χριστῷ, “in Christ” (APh^A 5.17.1–2; 6.1.7; 6.21.1)
- Speaking boldly ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, “in Christ” (APh^A 7.4.2–3)
- τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the marvels of Christ” (APh^A 7.4.6)
- Receiving power παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “from Christ” (APh^A 7.4.11)
- A blessing, ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ’ ἡμῶν εἴη εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, “May the peace of Christ be with us forever.” (APh^A 6.22.6)
- Believing εἰς τὸν κύριον, “in the Lord” (APh^A 7.1.2–3) and
- ὁ σωτήρ, “the savior” (APh^A 5.19.7).⁸⁷

The narrator’s references to Jesus/God, including the exclusively unmodified references to “God,” the frequency of other substantives, and use of “lord” and “savior” would be in keeping with a Christian implied audience, but do not demand such a conclusion.

APh^A 8-15 and Martyrdom

The next episode consists of APh^A 8ff., that is, APh^A 8–15 and the Martyrdom. In this episode, the apostles Philip, Bartholomew, and Mariamne travel to a city identified both as Ophiorhyme and Hierapolis, where Philip is eventually martyred.⁸⁸ The narrative incorporates sociolinguistic variation along the lines of both speaker and addressee, and sociolinguistic relationships also shed light on the internal composition history of the episode.

⁸⁷ The narrator also refers to being filled τῷ πνεύματι, “with the Spirit” (APh^A 5.1.10).

⁸⁸ In the extant text, the city is only identified in the title to APh^A 13 and at APh^A M.2.1, where it is called both Hierapolis and Ophiorhyme (cf. APh^A 14.2.11). Bovon and Amsler agree that the statement in APh^A M.2 is secondary, but disagree as to whether the earliest tradition would have equated the two cities (Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4493; Amsler, *Commentarius*, 373–78, 521–24; cf. de Santos Otero, “Jüngere Apostelakten,” 425; Leo Weber, “Apollon Pythoktonos im phrygischen Hierapolis,” *Philologus* 69 [1910]: 201–203, 211 n. 31; Stölten, “Zur Philippuslegende,” 160; Alfred von Gutschmid, “Die Königsnamen in den apokryphen Apostelgeschichten: ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des geschichtlichen Romans,” in *Kleine Schriften von Alfred von Gutschmid*, ed. Franz Rühl, vol. 2 [Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1890], 389–94).

Readers will observe that the discussion below draws almost exclusively on APh^A 13ff. This is because APh^A 8–10 are no longer extant and APh^A 11–12 contain little inter-human dialogue.⁸⁹

Dynamics of Christian Identity

We begin by discussing the dynamics of Christian identity. In APh^A 8ff., Christians are once again depicted as a social group, a necessary condition for sociolinguistic analysis. Thousands of men, women, and children gather in a church building in APh^A 11.8, for instance, and the apostles Philip, Bartholomew, and Mariamne travel together throughout the episode.

“Belief”

As one would expect, one of the traits with which Christian identity is associated in APh^A 8ff. is “belief.” At the beginning of APh^A 13, a wealthy blind man named Stachys, a former Viper worshipper and persecutor τῶν ξένων καὶ χριστιανῶν, “of strangers and Christians” (APh^A 14.2.9),⁹⁰ says to Philip, “I entreat you, man of God, heal me..., and I will believe in God through you” (APh^A 14.4.1–2). His offer implicitly associates Christian conversion with “belief.”

“Belief” is also a fundamental aspect of Christian identity in later scenes. In the Martyrdom, the narrator re-introduces Stachys as τινος πιστοῦ ὀνόματι Στάχυος, “a believer named Stachys” (APh^A M.2.2), and Philip speaks of τῶν πιστῶν, “believers” (APh^A M.5.6) and πᾶσιν τοῖς μέλλουσιν πιστεῦειν, “all those who will believe” (APh^A M.36.12). These substantives characterize belief as a fundamental aspect of the referents’ identity.

Both Philip and the narrator also associate belief with Christian conversion. Philip tells a group of local residents that they had formerly been bound ἐν τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ, “in unbelief” (APh^A M.4.7), and urges them to follow τῇ ἀληθινῇ θεοσεβείᾳ ὄντες πιστοί, “the true

⁸⁹ One cannot assume that the apostles’ speech patterns when addressing demons and animals would necessarily reflect the same sociolinguistic relationships as inter-human speech.

⁹⁰ Stachys’ comment implicitly categorizes the apostles as “Christians,” especially given that he has already addressed them as τοὺς ξένους ἄνδρας, “strangers” (APh^A 14.2.4).

religion, being faithful” (APh^A M.5.1),⁹¹ and announces, ἐπίστευσεν εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν, “Stachys believed in the true god” (APh^A M.33.8–9). The narrator also reports that some people ἐπίστευσαν τοῖς λόγοις τῶν ἀποστόλων, “believed the apostles’ words” (APh^A M.16.2).

Associating with the Apostles

Another practice associated with Christian identity is “attaching oneself to” or “going to” the apostles. Philip alludes to such a connection when he exhorts Stachys in APh^A 14, κολλήθητί μοι, “Attach yourself to me” (APh^A 14.6.2), and in APh^A 15, “going to the apostles” is more explicitly associated with the conversion of woman named Nicanora. Nicanora, a wealthy Syrian who originally arrived in the city after a shipwreck, has been suffering physically until the “word of God” that the apostles preach causes her to forget her ill health, at least temporarily (APh^A 15.6.4). She is therefore desperate to spend more time with them, even though her husband Tyrannognophos disapproves. She prays:

δέομαι οὖν σου, ἵνα πιστεύσῃ ὁ Τυραννόγνοφος ἐπὶ σέ ἢ ἀποθάνῃ, ἐπειδὴ κωλύει με ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους σου ἀποστόλους. κύριέ μου Ἰησοῦ, δός μοι πρόφασιν ἵνα ἐγὼ ἀπέλθω πρὸς αὐτούς, ἢ αὐτοὶ ἔλθωσιν πρὸς με. μόνον ποιήσόν με κοινωνὸν τοῦ ἁγίου σου λόγου, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστι ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἰατρός, οὐ μόνον σῶμα ἰωμένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχὴν.

I beg you, may Tyrannognophos either believe in you or die, since he prevents me from going to your holy apostles. My lord Jesus, give me an excuse to go to them or for them to come to me. Only make me a fellow of your holy word, since it is the true doctor, healing not only the body but also the soul. (APh^A 15.7.9–15)

Nicanora’s prayer characterizes her as so keen to “go to the apostles” and to reap the associated physical and spiritual benefits that she would even wish her husband dead, and the liaison provokes similarly strong emotions in Tyrannognophos. He warns Nicanora:

ἐὰν μάθω ὅτι ἀπῆλθες πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐκείνους μὲν τιμωρήσομαι, σὲ δὲ κατακλείσω εἰς τόπον σκοτεινόν.

If I learn that you have gone to them, I will take vengeance on them and lock you in a dark place. (APh^A 15.7.18–19)

⁹¹ Philip makes a similar statement addressing “baptized” characters in a later scene, telling them not to be ἄπιστοι, “unbelieving,” but rather πιστοί, “believing” (APh^A M.34.20).

These comments show that “going to the apostles” is an activity laden with significance both for Tyrannognophos and his wife, and it is also an activity that Nicanora links specifically with her emerging status as a “fellow of the holy word.”⁹²

Associating with the apostles also has cultic implications in the Martyrdom. In the introduction to the latter section of the narrative, the narrator reports that after the apostles arrived people began turning away from the Viper cult and ἀνήρχοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους, “were coming to the apostles” instead (APh^A M.2.13). Philip also tells people they ought to cast out “the serpent’s poison,” ἐλθόντες πρὸς ἡμᾶς, μᾶλλον δὲ δι’ ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν, “coming to us, or rather through us to Christ” (APh^A M.6.2; cf. M.21.6–7; M.32.21). His remark explicitly connects a person’s relationship to the apostles and his or her relationship to Christ.

Associating with the apostles can also be dangerous. During the Martyrdom, the apostles Philip, Bartholomew, and Mariamne are dragged to the city temple, and Philip is hung upside down. The apostle John then arrives in town and has a fairly innocuous conversation with local residents during which they are unaware of his prior relationship with the other apostles. When he sees how his colleagues are being treated, however, the situation rapidly changes. John asks:

ὦ τέκνα τοῦ ὄφεως...διὰ τί τιμωρεῖσθε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους; ὅτι εἰρήκασιν ἐχθρὸς ἐστὶν ἡμῶν [sic] ὁ ὄφις;

Serpent offspring, ...why are you punishing these people? Because they said, “The serpent is our enemy”? (APh^A M.24.1–5)

John’s words cause the crowd to realize that he is affiliated with Philip, Bartholomew, and Mariame. The crowd lays hands on John, and says:

ἐνομιζομέν σε συνπολίτην τινὰ εἶναι· νῦν δὲ ἡ λαλία σου ἐφάνερωσέν σε, ὅτι καὶ σὺ τούτων κοινωνὸς τυγχάνεις. ἐν ᾧ οὖν θανάτῳ μέλλουσιν ἀπέρχεσθαι, καὶ σὺ ἐν τούτῳ ἀπέρχῃ.

We thought you were a fellow citizen, but now your manner of speaking has revealed that you, too, are a partner of these. Therefore the death they are about to suffer, you also will suffer. (APh^A M.25.2–5)⁹³

⁹² The sharp dichotomy Nicanora draws between death and “belief” is also striking.

The crowd's pronouncement reveals that they consider their community and that of the apostles to be mutually exclusive, mirroring the perspectives of Philip, Nicanora, Tyrannognophos, and the narrator. For each group, associating with the apostles has cultic significance: one can either worship the Viper or join the apostles, but not both.

“Self-Control”

Christian identity in APh^A 8ff. is also associated with ascetic practices. In APh^A 15, Philip urges Stachys to practice ἐγκρατεία καὶ ἄσκησιν, “self-control and discipline” (APh^A 15.2.13–15; cf. 15.3.5, 17), and implicitly equates this to having τῇ ἐδραΐᾳ πίστει, “steady faith” (APh^A 15.2.12–13). In particular, he instructs Stachys to avoid meat and excess wine, and not to boast in silver or gold (APh^A 15.2.8–15; 15.3.8–9). He also discourages sexual activity (APh^A 15.3.9–13, 16; cf. 14.6), and concern for worldly glory (APh^A 15.3.14–15).

Other characters associate similar practices with Christian identity. Nicanora disdains wealth, telling Jesus she is not asking for gold or silver (APh^A 15.7.6), and urging her husband to abandon wickedness, τὸν βίον τὸν πρόσκαιρον τοῦτον, “this present life,” and τὴν δόξαν τὴν ματαίαν, “vain glory” (APh^A M.13.3–4). She also renounces conjugal relations, and condemns τῆς αἰσχρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας, “disgraceful desire” (APh^A M.13.6–11).

Hostile characters in APh^A 8ff. also associate Christian identity with conjugal separation. When John asks local residents why Philip, Bartholomew, and Mariamne are being punished, they reply:

τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν ἀποστῆναι ἀνέπεισαν ἀφ’ ἡμῶν προφάσει θεοσεβείας
[sic] ξένον ὄνομα καταγγέλλοντες Χριστοῦ.

They persuade our wives to withdraw from us on account of ‘piety,’ proclaiming a strange name, that of Christ. (APh^A M.22.7–8)

Tyrannognophos also decries

⁹³ The term κοινωνός, “partner, fellow, associate” has almost a technical sense in APh^A 8ff. See also APh^A 15.7.13; M.2.11; cf. APh^A 11.1.6; 12.4.2. λαλία, “manner of speaking,” is used elsewhere in APh^A of animal languages (APh^A 3.12.14; 12.1.4).

τοὺς μάγους τούτους καὶ πλάνους τοὺς πλανήσαντας πολλὰς ψυχὰς
γυναικῶν καὶ λέγοντας ὅτι θεοσεβεῖς ἐσμεν.

those magicians and deceivers who have deceived the souls of many women and
said “We are pious.” (APh^A M.15.2–4)

Tyrannognophos’ remark is no doubt motivated by his wife’s commitment to celibacy,
which he, like other local residents, associates with the apostles’ claims to piety.⁹⁴

Baptism

Another Christian distinctive in this section of the narrative is baptism. In APh^A 13,
Stachys recounts a dream in which a supernatural figure “baptizes” the city’s residents:

πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐλθόντες...ἐβαπτίζοντο...· καὶ τῶν βαπτιζομένων τὰ
σώματα λευκὰ ἐγένοντο.

Everyone in the city came and they were baptized... And the bodies of those
who were baptized became white. (APh^A 14.4.17–19)

Stachys’ dream portrays baptism as such an important rite that it even affects the color of
one’s body.

Baptism is also important in the Martyrdom. In the introduction to the latter section, the
narrator reports that after the apostles came, some local residents stopped presenting their
children to be κοινωνοὶ τῶν ὄφεων, “fellows of the serpents” (APh^A M.2.11),⁹⁵ and
instead were “baptized” (APh^A M.2.11), a choice with the practical benefit of protecting
them from the city’s guardian snakes: οἱ δὲ βαπτιζόμενοι οὐκ ἐδάκνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν
ὄφεων διὰ τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ σταυροῦ, “The baptized were not bitten by the snakes on
account of the sign of the cross” (APh^A M.2.13–14).

Baptism is also significant later in the Martyrdom, where the narrator even represents it
as indicating a different status than that defined by “belief.” In one scene, the narrator
explicitly distinguishes a group who proclaim, “We believe” (APh^A M.32.16–19), from

⁹⁴ In the Martyrdom, Philip also urges local residents to flee from ἐπιθυμία, “desire” (APh^A
M.5.4–5; cf. M.13.6), and he warns Bartholomew of the dangers of sexual desire (APh^A M.36.35–
49).

⁹⁵ On the term κοινωνός, “partner, fellow, associate,” see above, p. 189 n. 93.

another group referred to substantively as τῶν βαπτισθέντων, “the baptized” (APh^A M.34.1).⁹⁶

In combination with other practices, the narrator also associates “washing” with physical security in the latter section of the Martyrdom. Hanging upside down, Philip prays for the earth to swallow up his opponents, and most of the city falls into an abyss, all except for:

...οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ πάντες οἱ μετ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ οἰκία τοῦ Στάχυος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Τυραννογνόφου Νικάνορα, καὶ αἱ εἰκοσιτέσσαρες γυναῖκες αἱ φυγοῦσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ αἱ τεσσαράκονταπαρθένοι [sic] αἵτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ἄνδρας· οὗτοι μόνοι οὐ κατήλθον εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον, ὅτι ἦσαν λελουσμένοι καὶ δεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα αὐτοῦ.

...the apostles and all their associates, the household of Stachys, Nicanora the wife of Tyrannognophos, twenty-four women having separated from their husbands, and forty virgins who had never known a man. Only these did not go down into the abyss, since they had been washed and had received the word of God and his seal. (APh^A M.27.4–28.6)

The narrator’s description of those who are saved from the abyss incorporates several Christian distinctives discussed above, including sexual abstinence and associating with the apostles. “Receiving God’s word” is no doubt also synonymous with “belief,” and baptism is probably implied by the reference to “washing.”⁹⁷ The narrator’s comment thus connects all of these practices with a person’s identity and even his or her physical security.⁹⁸

Given the importance of baptism at a narrative level, it is interesting that Philip never instructs anyone to be baptized. It is also striking that when he explains why Stachys escaped the abyss, he does not mention baptism, but only reports that ὑπεδέξατο ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπίστευσεν εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν, “he received us and believed in the true god” (APh^A M.33.8–9). This does not mean, however, that Philip is only concerned with

⁹⁶ The narrator also refers to characters’ being “baptized” at APh^A 14.9.1; M.2.5; M.41.9.

⁹⁷ This is the only instance of λούω, “wash” in APh^A. Philip elsewhere uses the noun λουτρόν, “washing,” in a somewhat abstract context (APh^A 11.9.10, 11), which Amsler takes to evoke baptism (*Commentarius*, 351). Incidentally, the noun certainly refers to baptism at APh^A 1.15.2.

⁹⁸ Interestingly, the conditions for safety listed differ in APh^V, where the narrator reports that these individuals are saved because of their “belief in the Lord,” “purity” and “being sealed with Christ’s seal” (APh^V M.28).

“belief” in APh^A 8ff., to the exclusion of other aspects of Christian identity. We will see below that Philip is depicted as speaking differently to baptized and unbaptized characters, even when the latter already “believe.” He may not explicitly prescribe baptism, therefore, but his speech patterns suggest that it is still important to him.

Healing, Prayer, “Amen”

Before examining speech patterns, a few final indicators of Christian identity are worth mentioning to help clarify the Christian status of Stachys and Nicanora at various points in the episode. The following practices are not represented as necessary for Christian identity, but indicate an emerging Christian status insofar as they are only ascribed to Christians in the text.

One such indicator is the ability to heal. Characters who remark on this distinctive ability of the apostles include Philip (APh^A 13.4–5), Stachys and his children (APh^A 14.1–4), and other local residents (APh^A 14.8; M.22.12–14; cf. 15.6.9; M.12.3–7; M.15.2–4).⁹⁹

Christian identity also seems to be indicated by prayer. Besides Nicanora (APh^A 15.7), only Philip (APh^A 11.1, 4, 9; 12.7; 13.5; 14.5; 15.4; M.26; M.30; M.38), Bartholomew and Mariamne (APh^A M.41.2; M.42.8; cf. M.37.14), and a Christian leopard (APh^A 12.8) pray. Philip also makes two noteworthy references to prayer. He tells Stachys that if he practices self-control, his house will be called οἶκος προσευχῆς, “a house of prayer” (APh^A 15.3.18),¹⁰⁰ and after being hung upside down, Philip wonders where John is, and asks Bartholomew who will pray for them (APh^A M.21.3–4). In both cases, Philip represents prayer as a distinctively Christian practice, and even as one associated with a fairly established Christian identity.

Finally, only Christians ever say “Amen.” In APh^A 8ff., this is done by Philip (APh^A 13.5.23; 14.5.15; M.38.29), Bartholomew and Mariamne (APh^A 11.1.4; 11.10.3–4;

⁹⁹ Cf. Amsler, *Commentarius*, 394–95. The apostles also have power over demons (APh^A 11; M.30) and the ability to perform other miracles (APh^A 15.4; 15.6.1–4; cf. M.36.7–8). Hostile characters ascribe this ability to magic.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 422.

13.5.24), the Christian animals (APh^A 13.5.24; 14.9.3), and the narrator (APh^A 15.8.5; M.42.15).¹⁰¹

The Christian Status of Stachys

As the preceding discussion shows, Christian identity in APh^A 8ff. is multi-dimensional. “Belief” is important, but so are practices such as baptism and “self-control,” the latter defined variously as rejection of sex, glory, wealth, meat, and wine. Christian identity can also be indicated by “attaching oneself to” the apostles, or by healing, prayer, or saying “Amen.” With these features of Christian identity in mind, it is now possible to comment on the Christian status of characters such as Stachys. In the Martyrdom, the latter is presented as established in the faith: re-introduced as a “believer” (APh^A M.2.2), he does not fall into the abyss (APh^A M.28.1–2). His precise Christian status at various points in APh^A 14–15, on the other hand, is less immediately evident.

A first question concerns what signs of Christian identity he displays in APh^A 14.1–6. Amsler seems to consider Stachys’ conversion complete before Philip’s exhortation in APh^A 14.6 that begins, “Attach yourself to me.”¹⁰² Stachys does not display many relevant markers of Christian identity before APh^A 14.7, however, even if he is interested in Philip’s god from the beginning of the episode. The significance of associating with the apostles suggests that “Attach yourself to me” at APh^A 14.6.2 may be an evangelistic imperative, and the future tense of Stachys’ earlier offer, “Heal me..., and I will believe in God” (APh^A 14.4.1–2) also suggests that he does not yet believe. Admittedly, there are no other future instances of πιστεύω, “believe” in APh^A 8ff., but the future tense only once seems to denote a present reality in other episodes, at APh^A 3.15.13; in APh^A 5–7, the future of πιστεύω more often implies an unrealized conditional state (APh^A 5.10.2, 7–8; 5.21.9; 6.12.20; 6.16.9; 6.17.11), and the nature of Stachys’ offer also suggests that it is contingent on Philip’s healing him. The most likely point in the narrative for Stachys actually to “believe” would therefore be APh^A 14.7, since, although this section is missing from the manuscript, the remaining fragments suggest that his healing would

¹⁰¹ Other Christian distinctives in APh^A 8ff. include Mariamne’s male dress (APh^A M.19.5–6), and the apostles’ closing of temples and killing of snakes (APh^A M.22.9–11).

¹⁰² Amsler, *Commentarius*, 386, 392.

have been recounted here, his own expressed condition for “belief.” It is also worth observing that before APh^A 14.7, Stachys has not been baptized, healed anyone, prayed, or even said “Amen.” All things considered, therefore, it seems best to consider Stachys essentially a non-Christian speaker and addressee throughout APh^A 14.1–6.

A second question concerns Stachys’ Christian status in APh^A 15. Although this issue will be discussed again below, it will be helpful to make a few introductory comments here. By the beginning of APh^A 15, Stachys definitely shows some signs of Christian identity: he has presumably been baptized (APh^A 14.9.1), and has overtly “attached himself” to Philip by hosting the apostles at his home (APh^A 14.8.6–7; 15.1.8–11). Nevertheless, Philip still seems to think Stachys needs instruction in “self-control,” defined here in terms of glory, sex, meat, wealth, and wine (APh^A 15.2–3). Interestingly, according to the current arrangement of the text, “self-control” also seems to be sociolinguistically significant. As we will see, Philip’s references to Jesus/God addressing Stachys in APh^A 15 differ from how he speaks to the apostles Bartholomew and Mariamne. There is something odd about Philip’s speech patterns in APh^A 15 when considered in light of how he speaks in the Martyrdom, however: The ways Philip refers to Jesus/God addressing Stachys in APh^A 15 more closely resemble how he addresses unbaptized characters in the Martyrdom than those who have been baptized. Yet in APh^A 15, according to the current arrangement of the text, Stachys has already been baptized, and is only lacking in “self-control.” A possible resolution to this sociolinguistic tension will be discussed below.

References to the Apostles

Let us now examine speech patterns systematically, beginning with references to the apostles. In this first section, we will see that how characters refer to the apostles seems to reflect their Christian or non-Christian status. Especially interesting is the fact that more and less hostile non-Christians—defined respectively as those who remain in the abyss

forever, and those who have either converted before it appears or eventually climb back out (APh^A M.32)—refer to the apostles in different ways.¹⁰³

The most hostile ways of referring to the apostles are attributed to Tyrannognophos and the local priests, who are intent on killing the apostles and remain forever in the abyss. The priests announce, μάγοι εἰσὶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι, “These people are magicians” (APh^A M.17.1–2), and Tyrannognophos calls them:

- τοὺς μάγους τούτους καὶ πλάνους τοὺς πλανήσαντας, “those magicians and deceptive deceivers” (APh^A M.15.2–4)
- τοὺς μάγους τούτους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, “these magicians” (APh^A M.12.5–6)
- τῶν ξένων τούτων τῶν μάγων καὶ πλάνων, “these strangers, magicians and deceivers” (APh^A M.14.4)
- τοὺς πλανήσαντά [sic] σε, “those who have deceived you” (APh^A M.14.5)
- τοὺς ἐπιθέτας τούτους, “those plotters” (APh^A M.14.7) and
- ἐκείνους, “them” (APh^A 15.7.18).

In contrast to the speech patterns of Tyrannognophos and the priests, other non-Christians, those who eventually climb back out of the abyss or have converted beforehand, never use the terms “magicians,” “plotters,” or “deceivers.” Neutral non-Christians in APh^A 14–15 refer to the apostles using descriptive phrases:

- Before Stachys meets the apostles, he refers to them as τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς καθημένους ἐν τῇ πύλῃ, “those people sitting at the gate” (APh^A 14.1.5–6; cf. 14.1.9), and ἐκεῖνοι, “they” (APh^A 14.1.6).
- His children speak of οἱ ἰατροὶ ἐκεῖνοι, “those doctors” (APh^A 14.1.8).
- Nicanora’s servants refer to τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς θεραπεύοντας ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Στάχυος, “those people healing in the house of Stachys” (APh^A 15.6.9).

Some characters also refer to the apostles as οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι, “these people,” and τούτων, “these.” Unlike references to “magicians” and “deceivers,” however, the latter ways of speaking do not appear to be socially significant. “These” is used only once, by a local crowd (APh^A M.25.4), and the apostles are referred to as “these people” by a variety of Christian and non-Christian speakers:

¹⁰³ Note that there are no substantive third-person references to the apostles in direct speech in APh^A 8–13.

- The priests refer to them as ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι, “these people” (APh^A M.17.1–2).
- The apostle John speaks of οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι and τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους, “these people” to local residents (APh^A M.22.3; M.24.4).
- Local residents refer to τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων, “these people” in their reply to John (APh^A M.22.5).
- A crowd making a profession of faith refers to οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι, “these people” (APh^A M.32.17).

Although the latter expression does not indicate anything significant about a speaker’s Christian or non-Christian status, its use does draw attention to other ways of speaking that are only attributed to characters of certain Christian or non-Christian statuses. Just as the terms “magician” and “deceiver” are only applied to the apostles by Tyrannognophos and the priests, Nicanora is the only human speaker to refer to them as τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ, “the servants of God” (APh^A 15.6.14) or τοὺς ἁγίους σου ἀποστόλους, “your holy apostles” (APh^A 15.7.11), and it is probably not a coincidence that she also shows signs of Christian identity. Although she has not been baptized when she speaks these words, and the narrator never explicitly announces her “belief,” other signs of Christian identity are attributed to her. Immediately after referring to “the servants of God,” for instance, Nicanora prays, an action only done by established Christians elsewhere in the episode.¹⁰⁴ In her prayer, she also mentions her husband’s unbelief, expresses unconcern about material wealth, desires to go to the apostles, and asks to be made κοινωνὸν τοῦ ἁγίου σου λόγου, “a fellow of your holy word” (APh^A 15.7). As remarked above, these are distinctively Christian traits in the episode, and her references to the apostles as “your holy apostles” and “the servants of God” may therefore relate to her emerging Christian identity, just as the use of terms such as “magicians” and “deceivers” in the episode seems to relate to the hostile non-Christian status of Tyrannognophos and the priests.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ See above, pp. 192.

¹⁰⁵ Nicanora is the only human character to use the term “apostles” in APh^A 8ff. Incidentally, this occurs in her prayer. It is not clear whether she is addressing her servants or herself when she speaks of the apostles as “servants of God,” but her positive description of the apostles contrasts her servants’ neutral words (cf. APh^A 15.6.9). In this episode, the apostles are also addressed as “servants” by demons and the Christian leopard, and referred to as “servants” by the narrator and Philip himself. The demons address the apostles as ὧ οἱ δούλοι τοῦ ἀνομιμάστου θεοῦ, “servants

Before looking at references to Jesus/God, it is worth commenting briefly on forms of address for Philip, in relation to the question of whether Stachys' addressing Philip as "man of God" at APh^A 14.4.1 challenges the conclusion drawn above that he is portrayed as a non-Christian throughout APh^A 14.1–6. This question arises from Amsler's suggestion that this form of address contrasts Stachys' addressing the apostles earlier on as τοὺς ξένους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταύτην πάντως ἐμοῦ ἕνεκα, "strangers who have come to this city certainly on my account" (APh^A 14.2.4–5).¹⁰⁶ In the end, there is not enough sociolinguistic information in APh^A 8ff. to determine the significance of Stachys' words conclusively, however. The fact that both forms of address appear in the same speech pushes against understanding them in contrasting terms, and further complicating the situation is the fact that the expression "man of God" does not appear referentially, although one would need to exercise caution in extrapolating from a referential to an address context even if it did. Nor do other forms of address in APh^A 8ff. help to determine the significance of Stachys' calling Philip "man of God," since the only other form of address used for Philip in APh^A 8ff. is his name, and then only by non-human speakers.¹⁰⁷ It is therefore difficult to determine the sociolinguistic significance of this form of address or to intuit what it might indicate about Stachys' Christian status when he speaks.¹⁰⁸

of the ineffable god" (APh^A 11.2.5–6) and οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλοι, "servants of Christ" (APh^A 11.2.11). The leopard addresses them as ὧ δοῦλοι τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μόνου, ὧ ἀπόστολοι τοῦ θεοῦ μεγέθους, "servants of the first and only, apostles of the divine grandeur" (APh^A 12.2.2–3). The narrator refers to Philip as ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλος ἀπόστολος, "the apostle and servant of God" (APh^A 11.4.1). In prayer, Philip refers to ἡμῶν τῶν σῶν δούλων, "us, your servants" (APh^A M.38.15; cf. M.38.13). All of these speakers are in a position to recognize this important aspect of the apostles' identity.

¹⁰⁶ Amsler, *Commentarius*, 391.

¹⁰⁷ Addressing Philip by name are Jesus (APh^A M.29.13; M.31.1), a dragon (APh^A 11.3.14; 11.6.2; 11.7.6, 12; 11.8.5), and demons (APh^A 11.7.17).

¹⁰⁸ It is also worth remarking that one cannot assume that "man of God" has the same social significance in APh^A 8ff. as in APh^A 5–7, and that the social significance of "strangers" as a form of address in APh^A 8ff. is also difficult to determine due to lack of sociolinguistic data. On the latter point, the only other plural forms of address for the apostles in APh^A 8ff. are by non-human speakers (see above, p. 196 n. 105). It is true that only Tyrannognophos refers to them as "strangers" (APh^A M.14.4), but Philip himself uses the term predicatively (APh^A 14.5.6). Tyrannognophos' reference is also made in the introduction to the Martyrdom, which could be a complicating factor; see below, pp. 202–204.

References to Jesus/God and Forms of Address

Let us now examine other linguistic variables. In this section, we will see that while some ways of referring to the apostles, such as “magicians” or “servants of God,” seem to reflect the Christian status of speakers, Philip’s references to Jesus/God and the forms of address he uses co-vary with the Christian status of his addressees. We will also see that although the most relevant sociolinguistic boundaries coincide with “self-control” in APh^A 13–15 and baptism in the Martyrdom, close attention to the text suggests that the sociolinguistic significance of “self-control” may be merely an incidental effect of composition history.

APH^A 13–15

In APh^A 13–15, Philip speaks differently to his fellow apostles than to Stachys. In APh^A 14.6, when Stachys does not yet show any definitive signs of Christian identity, Philip tells him, τὸν καλοῦντά σε δοῦναι τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, “The one who calls you gives the true light” (APh^A 14.6.18–19).¹⁰⁹ In APh^A 15, when Stachys has been baptized and is hosting the apostles, but still needs instruction in “self-control,” Philip speaks to him of:

- ὁ θεός, “God” (APh^A 15.2.4)
- τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πατρός, “the good father” (APh^A 15.2.6)
- ὁ πλοῦτος τοῦ θεοῦ, “the wealth of God” (APh^A 15.2.15)
- ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ, “the peace of God” (APh^A 15.3.1) and
- τὸν Χριστόν, “Christ” (APh^A 15.3.14).¹¹⁰

Philip’s frequent references to “God” when addressing Stachys contrast how he speaks when addressing his fellow apostles. In APh^A 13, Philip speaks of:

- ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν, “our master” addressing the apostle Mariamne (APh^A 13.4.3)
- ὁ σωτήρ, “the savior,” addressing the apostle Bartholomew (APh^A 13.4.7, 10) and
- ἡ ζῶσα φωνὴ τοῦ ὑψίστου, “the living voice of the Most High” (APh^A 13.5.1–2) and ὁ Χριστός, “the Christ” (APh^A 13.5.9),¹¹¹ presumably addressing both the apostles and the Christian animals.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Philip also tells Stachys that his vision has come ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, “by the Holy Spirit” (APh^A 14.6.5–6).

¹¹⁰ On the syntax of the latter term, see Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler, *Acta Philippi*, 334 n. 17. Philip also mentions ἡ σφραγὶς τοῦ πνεύματος, “the seal of the Spirit” (APh^A 15.3.2–3).

The fact that Philip refers to “God” when addressing Stachys but not his fellow apostles, especially in light of other references to Jesus/God in the episode, initially suggests that Stachys’ need for “self-control” is socially significant.

Martyrdom

In the Martyrdom, Philip’s references to Jesus/God and forms of address correlate most clearly with whether or not his addressees have been baptized.

A little background will be helpful here. In the scene after local residents climb out of the abyss, several different groups appear. Some of those who reemerge exclaim, εἷς θεὸς ὁ ἀποστείλας ἡμῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα κηρύττουσιν οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι, “There is one god, the one who sent us his salvation, whose name these people proclaim,” and they add, πιστεύομεν, “We believe” (APh^A M.32.16–19). This crowd both “believes” and affirms the apostles, two key markers of Christian identity in the episode. Nevertheless, the narrator differentiates them from another group referred to substantively as τῶν βαπτισθέντων, “the baptized” (APh^A M.34.1). From the narrator’s perspective, “the baptized” in APh^A M.34 are evidently distinct from the unbaptized characters in APh^A M.32 who “believe.”¹¹³

Interesting for the current study is the fact that although Philip does not explicitly instruct anyone to be baptized in the Martyrdom, his speech patterns suggest that the baptized status of his addressees is nevertheless significant. He addresses the unbaptized “believers” of APh^A M.32 as ὧ ἄνδρες τῆς πόλεως, “men of the city” (APh^A M.33.2), but the “baptized” of APh^A M.34 as ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί μου οἱ φωτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ, “my brothers enlightened in Christ” (APh^A M.34.3) and ἀδελφοί μου, “my brothers” (APh^A M.34.16). Pending examination of the distribution of the term “brothers” in APh^A 8ff., one observes that Philip’s use of this kinship term with the “baptized” seems to contrast the expression “men of the city” he uses to address the unbaptized characters who “believe.”

¹¹¹ On the context of the latter term, see Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4506–7.

¹¹² These four affirm Philip’s subsequent doxology with an “Amen” (APh^A 13.5.23–24).

¹¹³ This distinction is observed by Flamion, “Les trois recensions,” 221 n. 2.

Philip's references to Jesus/God also differ. Addressing the unbaptized characters who "believe," he only uses the term "god." He mentions:

- αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ θεοῦ, "the powerful works of God" (APh^A M.33.4)
- ὅλον τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ μου, "the entire will of my god" (APh^A M.33.9) and
- τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν, "the true god" (APh^A M.33.8–9).

Philip also uses the term "god" when addressing the baptized—he quotes Jesus regarding τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, "the kingdom of God" (APh^A M.34.15–16)—but it appears less frequently. Philip makes five other references to Jesus/God in APh^A M.34:

- Χριστῷ, "Christ" (APh^A M.34.3)
- τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ῥυομένου ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης τοῦ διαβόλου, "our savior Jesus Christ who rescues the whole world from the Devil's deception" (APh^A M.34.7–9).
- τοῦ σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ, "Christ the savior" (APh^A M.34.13–14) and
- τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ κριτοῦ, "the true judge" (APh^A M.34.22)

The frequency of substantives other than "god" in the latter speech contrasts how Philip speaks in the immediately preceding context to the unbaptized characters who "believe," and how he speaks to Stachys in APh^A 14–15. His ways of referring to Jesus/God addressing the "baptized" most closely resemble how he speaks to his fellow apostles in APh^A 13.

As the Martyrdom continues, more evidence emerges suggesting that Philip's speech patterns coincide with his addressees' baptized status. After speaking to the "baptized" in APh^A M.34—whom Philip addresses as "my brothers" and "my brothers enlightened in Christ"—he turns to τοῖς ὄχλοις τοῖς κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ, "the crowds around him." For this group, he uses a form of address that does not involve a kinship term:

ὧ ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀναστάντες ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰδου τῆς ἀβύσσου, οὓς ὁ σταυρὸς ὁ φωτεινὸς ἀνήγαγεν διὰ τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

You who have been raised from the dead and from the abyss of Hades, whom the cross of light has led up on account of the goodness of Christ. (APh^A M.35.2–4)

It is not clear from the narrative whether “the crowds around Philip” are identical to the unbaptized characters who “believe,” but Philip’s forms of address in both cases contrast the kinship term “brothers” he uses with “the baptized.”¹¹⁴ How he speaks of Jesus/God addressing “the crowds around him” in APh^A M.35 also differs: he does not refer to “the savior” or employ multi-term phrases, but merely refers to τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ Χριστοῦ “the goodness of Christ” (APh^A M.35.4), and then describes Christ at length, including the statement that Christ became human although he was θεός, “God” (APh^A M.35.4).

The fact that Philip does not use the term “brothers” in APh^A M.35 is all the more striking when compared with his final instructions to Bartholomew in APh^A M.36–37. He calls his fellow apostle:

- Βαρθολομαῖε ἀδελφέ μου ἐν Χριστῷ, “Bartholomew, my brother in Christ” (APh^A M.36.3)
- ὦ Βαρθολομαῖε, “Bartholomew” (APh^A M.36.35)
- ἀδελφέ, “brother” (APh^A M.36.42) and
- ἀδελφέ μου Βαρθολομαῖε, “my brother Bartholomew” (APh^A M.37.1).

Philip’s use of “brother” for Bartholomew resembles his forms of address for the “baptized” and differs from how he addresses both “the crowds around him” and the unbaptized characters who “believe.”¹¹⁵

Philip ways of referring Jesus/God when addressing Bartholomew also resemble how he speaks to the “baptized” insofar as he employs the term “god” only infrequently. To Bartholomew, Philip mentions:

- ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (APh^A M.36.4)
- ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, “our lord” (APh^A M.36.16, 35, 36; M.37.11–12)
- Praying πρὸς κύριον, “to the Lord” (APh^A M.36.41)

¹¹⁴ As Bovon points out, APh^A appears to distinguish two groups exiting from the abyss, some who worship the apostles and others who prepare to flee (APh^A M.32.20–23) (Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4517).

¹¹⁵ Earlier in the Martyrdom, Philip addresses Bartholomew as ὦ ἀδελφοί [sic] μου, “my brother” (APh^A M.23.4). A singular vocative is understandably suggested by Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler, *Acta Philippi*, 379.

- Eating and drinking ἐν Χριστῷ, “in Christ” (APh^A M.36.30) and
- τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the witness of Christ” (APh^A M.37.5–6) and
- ὁ θεός, “God” (APh^A M.37.14).

Although Philip’s references to “the Lord” when addressing Bartholomew contrast how he speaks to the “baptized,” it is still striking how infrequently “god” appears in either context, especially when compared with how he speaks to the unbaptized characters who “believe.”¹¹⁶

“Brothers”

Further comment is now in order on the distribution of the term ἀδελφός, “brother,” in the Martyrdom, a term Philip uses as a form of address both for Bartholomew and for the “baptized.”

As a form of reference, the masculine ἀδελφός, “brother” only refers to characters of established (baptized) Christian identity in the episode. Philip mentions ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν Πέτρος, “our brother Peter” to Bartholomew (APh^A M.36.38–39) and the narrator speaks of (ἀλλήλους) τοὺς ἀδελφούς, “the brothers” in the plural (APh^A M.42.7).¹¹⁷

As a form of address, “brother(s)” is similarly used for established (baptized) Christian addressees in almost all instances. Philip uses the term when addressing the “baptized” (APh^A M.34.3, 16), Bartholomew (APh^A M.36.3, 42; M.37.1; cf. M.23.4), and Bartholomew and Mariamne (APh^A M.42.3–4).¹¹⁸ On only one occasion does he employ the term addressing a group that may not consist entirely of baptized Christians. At the beginning of the Martyrdom, he addresses a group the narrator refers to as “the men of the city.” He tells them: ἀδελφοί μου, υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, ὑμεῖς ἐστέ [sic] τὸ πλοῦτος τοῦ γένους μου κατὰ Χριστόν, “My brothers, sons of my father, you are the wealth of my race according to Christ” (APh^A M.3.1–2). Although the term “brothers” is

¹¹⁶ In APh^A 8ff., “lord” is used as a form of address for Jesus/God by Philip (APh^A 12.7.2, 12; 15.4.2; M.38.1, 15, 19), Nicanora (APh^A 15.7.2, 11), and the animals (APh^A 12.8.6). Philip refers to Jesus/God as “lord” addressing Bartholomew (APh^A M.36.4, 16, 35, 36, 41; M.37.12) and Jesus, predicatively (APh^A 12.7.9; 13.5.19). The narrator also employs the term (APh^A 8.1.3; 13.1.6; 15.8.3; M.2.4; M.42.1, 9, 12).

¹¹⁷ Only ἀδελφή, “sister” is used in a biological sense (APh^A M.2.4).

¹¹⁸ It is only used twice as a form of address elsewhere in APh^A (APh^A 3.2.2; 7.5.3).

only used for established (baptized) Christians elsewhere in the Martyrdom, Philip's speech to "the men of the city" in APh^A M.3 could be at least partly evangelistic, in which case he may be depicted as speaking proleptically, as anticipating the conversion of his audience.¹¹⁹ Such a reading would be supported by the fact that Mariamne seems to speak proleptically to Nicanora shortly thereafter, also using an apparently proleptic form of address, ὦ θυγάτηρ τοῦ πνεύματος, "daughter of the Spirit" (APh^A M.9.4–5).¹²⁰ Mariamne seems to doubt Nicanora's Christian status when she speaks these words,¹²¹ also saying, ἦλθον δὲ ἐγὼ ῥύσασθαί σε, "I have come to rescue you" (APh^A M.9.6), and, ἦλθεν ὁ λυτρωτὴς ὁ ῥυόμενός σε, "The redeemer who is delivering you has come" (APh^A M.9.7–8). By depicting Nicanora's rescue as ongoing, Mariamne implies that Nicanora is not yet an established Christian, and "daughter of the Spirit" could therefore be meant proleptically, which would make it all the more plausible that Philip's use of "brothers" in APh^A M.3 functions in the same way.¹²²

Nevertheless, Philip's calling non-Christians "brothers," even proleptically, would still present a tension with his speech patterns later in the Martyrdom, where his use of the term "brothers" seems to correspond closely with his having actual (baptized) Christian

¹¹⁹ In APh^V, the narrator reports that as a result of Philip's teaching many ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον, "turned to the Lord" and that οἱ πιστοὶ πλεῖον ἐστηρίχθησαν, "the believers were further strengthened" (APh^V M.7.7–9). These comments show that the APh^V tradition understands Philip to be addressing a mixed Christian and non-Christian crowd. Such a statement is lacking in APh^A, but the situation may well be the same. Philip's references to Jesus/God in this speech would suit any audience. He mentions ὁ θεός, "God" (APh^A M.4.3), (τὸν) Χριστόν, "Christ" (APh^A M.3.2; M.6.2), and τοῦ πατρός μου, "my father" (APh^A M.3.1–2).

¹²⁰ She also calls Nicanora ἡ κυρία μου, "my mistress" (APh^A M.9.5).

¹²¹ Thus also Bovon, "Women," 119.

¹²² In APh^V, Mariamne speaks to Nicanora as a long-lost spiritual sister who is not a Christian yet, but is about to become one. Drawing especially on APh^V, Amsler remarks on the theme of forgetting, in light of which Mariamne could be understood to refer to Nicanora's forgotten rather than future identity (Amsler, *Commentarius*, 379–80). It is worth remarking that in APh^V Nicanora appears to be portrayed as an emerging Christian at the narrative level even if Mariamne does not speak to her this way. The comments of Bovon and Brock could thus be further nuanced: Bovon, perhaps drawing on APh^V, remarks that Mariamne's speech itself results in Nicanora's salvation and healing (François Bovon, "Mary Magdalene in the Acts of Philip," in *New Testament and Christian Apocrypha: Collected Studies II* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009], 265). Brock comments, "It is through her words that Nicanora is converted to Christianity" (Ann Graham Brock, *Mary Magdalene, the First Apostle: The Struggle for Authority* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003], 127). Yet according to APh^V M.8, Nicanora has already been healed (and has believed) before the conversation begins, and has thus at least begun the conversion process (cf. the plural pronouns of APh^A M.10).

addressees. This would best be explained by composition history, that Philip’s use of “brothers” for non-Christians in the introduction to the Martyrdom, which shows other signs of being secondary, traces to a redactor who had different sociolinguistic sensibilities than the tradition he or she received.¹²³

Of course, this raises the question of what other sociolinguistic information in the introduction might also be at odds with the rest of the episode. In that regard, it should be remarked that all the indicators of Christian identity discussed above are also evidenced elsewhere in APh^A 8ff., but that references to the apostles as “magicians” and “deceivers” are not.¹²⁴ This does not negate the sociolinguistic significance ascribed to the latter ways of speaking in this chapter, but it is worth keeping in mind.

“Jesus of Nazareth” and “Hebrew” Identity

A point of consistency between the introduction to the Martyrdom and the rest of the episode is the portrayal of “Hebrew” identity, a concept relevant to one particular way of referring to Jesus/God, a reference to “Jesus of Nazareth” that occurs in inter-apostolic dialogue. Philip and Bartholomew ask John:

ποῦ ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ μὴ ἐπιτρέπων ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκδίκησιν κατὰ τούτων τῶν βασανιζόντων ἡμᾶς;

Where is Jesus of Nazareth who does not permit us to exact our own vengeance against those who torture us? (APh^A M.25.12–14)

Philip also uses ὦ Ἰησοῦ Ναζωραῖε, “Jesus of Nazareth” as a form of address (APh^A M.30.2–3).

Examination of the narrative suggests that use of the expression “Jesus of Nazareth” correlates with “Hebrew” speech contexts. Unlike “Jewish” identity in APh^A 5–7, “Hebrew” identity in the Martyrdom is associated with Christian characters, and is marked most clearly by the ability to speak or understand the Hebrew dialect, a skill attributed only to the apostles, Jesus/God, and, in the introduction to the Martyrdom, to

¹²³ Regarding the introduction to the Martyrdom, see above, pp. 144–45.

¹²⁴ Amsler plausibly argues that all of APh M.1–18 were composed as a result of the Martyrdom’s being detached from APh 8–15 (*Commentarius*, 414–17).

Nicanora. Of three references to “Hebrew,” one appears in inter-apostolic dialogue, when Philip asks Bartholomew τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ, “in the Hebrew dialect” where John is in their hour of need (APh^A M.21.1–3). Another occurs in prayer: Philip prays in “Hebrew” for the earth to swallow up his opponents (APh^A M.26.1).¹²⁵ The final reference is made by Nicanora. When they first meet, Mariamne speaks to Nicanora ἐν τῇ Συριακῇ διαλέκτῳ, “in the Syriac dialect” (APh^A M.9.2), but Nicanora replies:

ἐγὼ Ἑβραία εἰμι θυγάτηρ Ἑβραίων· λάλησον μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῶν πατέρων μου, ὅτι ἤκουσα τοῦ κηρύγματος ἡμῶν [sic] καὶ ἰάθην ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου μου. προσκυνῶ καὶ δοξάζω τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς [sic] σκυλῆναι ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ.

I am a Hebrew, daughter of Hebrews. Speak with me in the dialect of my fathers, since I have heard your preaching and have been healed from my disease. I worship and glorify the goodness of God, since he made you take the trouble to come into this country. (APh^A M.10.4–8)

Although the latter exchange takes place in the introduction, the sense is in keeping with the other references to “Hebrew.” Nicanora’s description of Hebrew as “the dialect of my fathers” suggests that “Hebrew” functions to mark ethnic identity rather than linguistic prowess, and her speech also clearly links “Hebrew” and Christian identity.¹²⁶

Nicanora does not use the expression “Jesus of Nazareth,” of course, but Philip and Bartholomew do, and it is probably not a coincidence that they and their addressees—John and Jesus/God—are among the only characters who are depicted as “Hebrew” in

¹²⁵ Some traditions of APh M.26, including certain manuscripts of the so-called Γ and Δ recensions, describe this as Philip’s “cursing” the people, and include nonsense words purporting to be Hebrew. Philip offers a simple (unvoiced) praise τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ, “in his own dialect” at APh^A 11.9.2.

¹²⁶ Note that although only a few Christians are marked as “Hebrew” in the Martyrdom, they are only contrasted with Viper worshippers, and never with non-“Hebrew” Christians. Hebrew dialect connects Mariamne and Nicanora, Philip and Bartholomew, and even Philip and Jesus, not because they are non-gentile “Jews”—a term never appearing in the Martyrdom—but because they are on the same side of the conflict with the Viper worshippers. Also, while Nicanora’s back story is not provided in detail, the three men and Philip’s sister Mariamne are all connected with Jesus’ pre-crucifixion ministry. Regarding the exchange between Mariamne and Nicanora, it is not clear whether the tradition is equating or contrasting “Hebrew” and “Syriac.” Nicanora may be asking Mariamne to speak Hebrew *rather* than Syriac (or Greek), since it is not clear why “Syriac” would be specified if equivalent to the “Hebrew” dialect mentioned elsewhere (APh^A M.10.5; M.21.1–2; M.26.1). Incidentally, Syriac nonsense words at APh^A M.9.3 betray the tradition’s unfamiliarity with that dialect, and in APh^V Mariame addresses Nicanora not in Syriac but in “Hebrew” (APh^V M.9.3).

the narrative. Use of the expression “Jesus of Nazareth” thus seems to correspond to “Hebrew” speech contexts.¹²⁷

Summary and Remarks

To summarize this section, Philip’s references to Jesus/God, like his forms of address, seem to co-vary with the Christian status of his addressees in APh^A 8ff. The most sociolinguistically relevant aspects of Christian identity differ between the Martyrdom and the preceding acts, however. In the Martyrdom, Philip’s references to Jesus/God and forms of address relate most clearly to his addressees’ baptized status, aside from one proleptic address in APh^A M.3 that probably traces to a redactor. Besides that instance, Philip only uses the kinship term “brothers” when addressing baptized characters, and he employs the term “god” less frequently when addressing baptized characters than in other social contexts. It is especially interesting that Philip speaks differently to baptized characters than he does to unbaptized characters who nevertheless “believe.”

Philip also differentiates linguistically between a “believing” character and those who show additional signs of Christian identity in APh^A 13–15, and in a similar way: he speaks of “god” more frequently when addressing Stachys in APh^A 15 than when addressing his fellow apostles earlier on. Since Stachys has already been baptized in APh^A 15, the most likely aspect of his identity to trigger a shift in speech patterns in this section of the narrative is his ongoing need for “self-control.”

At least, Stachys’ need for “self-control” is implicated if the order of events is taken as it stands. It does seem odd, however, that Philip’s frequent use of “god” addressing the baptized Stachys more closely resembles how he addresses unbaptized characters in the Martyrdom than those who have been baptized. It also seems strange that two different aspects of Christian identity should be linguistically significant in the two halves of the episode. The most economical explanation for these phenomena is one that has been offered by Amsler to explain other unexpected aspects of the text, such as the fact that Stachys serves a feast with meat and wine in APh^A 14.7 that Philip does not immediately

¹²⁷ Other factors could explain these instances of “Jesus of Nazareth,” but the salience of “Hebrew” identity for the characters in question is probably not a coincidence.

condemn (APh^A 14.7.3–5). Amsler’s suggestion is that Philip’s exhortation on self-control has been moved to its current location from APh^A 14, where it would have formed a natural response to Stachys’ (pre-baptism) feast with meat and wine.¹²⁸ Not only does Amsler’s conjecture have merit for the reasons he cites, but it is also supported by the sociolinguistic relationships examined in this chapter. The resemblance between Philip’s speech patterns when addressing Stachys in APh^A 15 and how he refers to Jesus/God addressing unbaptized characters in the Martyrdom is most economically explained as resulting from composition history, that in earlier stages of the tradition, Philip’s words in APh^A 15 were addressed to Stachys before he was baptized.¹²⁹

In relation to references to Jesus/God, it is worth observing finally the relative frequency with which Philip uses the term “god” when addressing characters who lack aspects of Christian identity may reflect accommodation to his addressees. Non-Christians and unbaptized characters make few references to Jesus/God in APh^A 8ff., but the frequency of the term “god” in their speech is striking:

- Stachys offers to “believe in God” (APh^A 14.4.2) and calls Philip “man of God” (APh^A 14.4.1). He finishes his dream account with the comment, “God is the one has revealed himself to me” (APh^A 14.4.22–23).
- Other non-Christian characters remark that the apostles are ἀνθρώπους θεοσεβείς, “pious people” (APh^A 14.8.2) and suggest that perhaps δύναμις θεοῦ, “power of [a] god” is with them (APh^A 14.8.4).
- People in the street tell John that the apostles have been proclaiming ξένον ὄνομα...Χριστοῦ, “a strange name, that of Christ” (APh^A M.22.8).
- Some who climb out of the abyss exclaim, εἷς θεὸς ὁ ἀποστείλας ἡμῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν, “There is one god, the one who sent us his salvation” (APh^A M.32.16–17).

¹²⁸ Amsler, *Commentarius*, 386–88, 422–26; cf. Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4509. Regarding other changes that may have been made to APh 14–15 and the Martyrdom, see Amsler, *Commentarius*, 407–21; and cf. Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4473. Philip’s belated instructions to Stachys regarding vegetarian diet are especially striking in light of the prominence of the latter issue in APh^A 12.

¹²⁹ Nevertheless, because APh^A seems to have drawn on at least two sources for APh^A 8ff. (see above, p. 144–45), it is not possible to prove conclusively that the relationship between Philip’s speech patterns and social context in APh^A 13–15 really contrasts sociolinguistic relationships in the Martyrdom.

The frequency of the term “god” in the latter corpus resembles how Philip speaks with addressees who lack aspects of Christian identity, and his more frequent use of “god” in those contexts may therefore reflect accommodation to his addressees.

Implied and Intended Audience

It remains to remark that references to Jesus/God in APh^A 8ff. imply a Christian audience. The narrator refers several times to θεός, “God”:

- ἐδόξασαν / δοξάζοντες τὸν θεόν, “glorifying God” (APh^A 11.1.4–5; 11.10.2; 12.1.2–3; 12.8.5–6; M.32.15; M.41.6–7)
- ὁ...τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλος ἀπόστολος, “the apostle and servant of God” (APh^A 11.4.1)
- τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐχαριστίᾳ, “the eucharist of God” (APh^A 11.10.3)
- A doxology beginning τῷ...θεῷ ἡμῶν, “to our god” (APh^A 14.9.6)
- τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, “the word of God” (APh^A 15.6.4; M.28.6)
- Speaking to τὸν θεόν, “God” (APh^A 15.7.1)

The narrator also employs the substantives “Christ,” “lord,” and “savior”:

- τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ κοινωνίας, “the fellowship of Christ” (APh^A 11.1.6)
- Praising τὸν Χριστόν, “Christ” (APh^A 11.8.4)
- τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the gospel of Christ” (APh^A M.1.6–7)
- ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (APh^A 8.1.3; 13.1.6; M.42.1, 9)
- τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν τοῦ κυρίου, “the seventy disciples of the Lord” (APh^A M.2.3–4)
- ὁ σωτήρ, “the savior” (APh^A 8.1.1; M.29.1; M.31.1; M.32.1, 12); τοῦ σωτήρος, “the savior” (APh^A M.30.1–2)
- τῆς στοῦ [sic] σωτήρος εὐχαριστίας, “the eucharist of the savior” (APh^A 11.1.4)

There is also some Trinitarian language:

- Doxologies including τῷ πατρί, “the Father” and τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, “the Holy Spirit” (APh^A 15.8.4; M.42.13)
- Baptizing εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, “in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit” (APh^A M.2.11–12; cf. M.41.10)

Finally, the narrator twice uses the expression ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, “in Christ Jesus our lord” (APh^A 15.8.3; M.42.12), and once refers to τὴν ἀκτῖνα τοῦ φωτὸς τῆς μονάδος, “the rays of the light of the Monad” (APh^A 13.3.8–9).

Although the narrator refers to “God” more frequently than occurs in dialogue between established (baptized) Christians, references to “the Lord,” “the savior,” and “Christ Jesus our lord” are only paralleled in the latter social context. The audience implied by this linguistic variable would therefore most likely consist of (baptized) Christians.

Certain layers of the tradition may also have been intended for a Christian audience. The fact that Philip speaks differently to different addressees in APh^A 8–15 and the latter half of the Martyrdom, and sometimes seems to accommodate his speech patterns to theirs, suggests that the implied and intended audiences would be similar in these sections of the episode. It is difficult to extrapolate from sociolinguistic relationships to the intended audience of APh^A 8ff. as a whole, however, given the attribution of apparently proleptic language to Philip and Mariamne in the introduction to the Martyrdom. If characters speak proleptically, the tradition as a whole could also use proleptic inter-Christian language despite being intended for a non-Christian audience.

APh^A 1

The final episode to be analyzed is APh^A 1, which consists of a tour of hell surrounded by a narrative frame. We will see that linguistic differences between the frame and the tour of this episode suit the distinct literary emphases of these sections of text, and that there are also speech patterns that seem to correlate with Christian status of speakers and addressees.

Dynamics of Christian Identity

The social aspect of Christian identity is more implied than stated in APh^A 1, but there is ample evidence of Christian boundaries.

Narrative Frame

Both “belief” and “purity” are associated with Christian identity in the narrative frame. At the beginning of the act, Philip encounters a widow burying her only son. When she

first appears on scene, she is not yet a Christian, since she reports that she has regularly made offerings to Ares, Apollo, Hermes, Artemis, Zeus, Athena, the Sun, the Moon, and ὅσοι πρόποτέ εἰσι θεοί, “as many gods as exist” (APh^A 1.1.15; cf. 1.1.10–11, 20, 21), and has looked down on τοὺς χριστιανούς, “Christians” (APh^A 1.1.27). What follows is therefore a conversion narrative, an apt place to find evidence of Christian boundary markers.

One such boundary marker is “belief.” Philip tells the widow about:

τοῦ θεοῦ μου... Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος καὶ ταφέντος καὶ
ἀναστάντος καὶ βασιλεύοντος τῶν αἰώνων, ᾧ εἴ τις πιστεύει, λαμβάνει ζωὴν
αἰώνιον

my god Jesus Christ, the crucified and buried and risen and ruling the ages, in
whom if anyone believes, he receives eternal life. (APh^A 1.2.5–8)

In addition to “belief,” Philip also commends “purity.” When the widow comments that it would perhaps be better not to marry, drink wine, or eat meat (APh^A 1.2.12–15), Philip announces that ὁ σωτήρ, “the savior” (APh^A 1.3.2) is speaking these words through her, and remarks, αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγνείᾳ ὁ θεός ὁμιλεῖ, “God associates with purity” (APh^A 1.3.3–4). He thus affirms both “belief” and “purity” as aspects of Christian identity. When the widow announces at the end of the scene, πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ εἰς τὴν σεμνὴν παρθενίαν, “I believe in Jesus and in noble virginity,” her words are therefore a sign of her changing Christian status (APh^A 1.3.12–13).¹³⁰

Belief in Jesus is also associated with Christian identity in the next scene, during which the widow’s son is raised from the dead and reports on a tour of hell he has taken while deceased. After his recital, the young man announces:

εἴ τις πιστεύσῃ τῷ θεῷ, μακαριστὸς ἔσται· καὶ εἴ τις ὁμολογήσῃ τὸν
ἀγαπητὸν Χριστὸν, δοξασθήσεται. τῶν δὲ δικαίων ἡ ὁδὸς εἶδον ὅτι ἀλόθεν
εἰσάγει εἰς τὴν ἀνάψυσιν, ὅτι ζῶντες ἐπίστευσαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

¹³⁰ As Amsler notes, belief in Jesus and purity of life are both represented as necessary for salvation in this episode (Amsler, *Commentarius*, 38, 50). See also Bovon, “Les Actes,” 4476. On “purity” in APh^A 1, a multi-faceted concept including abstinence from both sex and wine, see Amsler, *Commentarius*, 36.

Anyone who believes in God will be blessed and anyone who confesses the beloved Christ will be glorified. I have seen that the way of the just leads to the place of refreshing by a different route, because they believed in Jesus while they were alive. (Aph^A 1.17.3–7)

The young man's remarks emphasize the importance of "belief," and the trait is also associated with Christian conversion by the narrator, who reports in a summary conclusion that ἐπίστευσαν πολλούς, "many believed" (Aph^A 1.18.2–3), or, more specifically, πιστεύσαντες τῷ Χριστῷ, "believed in Christ" (Aph^A 1.18.4–5).

Tour of Hell

Although "belief" is highly salient in the narrative frame, other boundary markers are highlighted in the tour of hell.¹³¹ Practices that have landed people in the place of punishment include idolatry and augury (Aph^A 1.11.8–9; cf. 1.1), greed (Aph^A 1.16.14–15),¹³² tyrannizing (Aph^A 1.6.7), and anger (Aph^A 1.11.6; 1.13.7, 17–18). The most frequently cited sins include slander and other hostile speech, directed at Christ (Aph^A 1.5.6–7), parents (Aph^A 1.7.7–8), church leaders (Aph^A 1.6.8–9; 1.10.10; 1.12.8–10), eunuchs and virgins (Aph^A 1.7.8–18; 1.8.7–8; 1.9.3–5; 1.10.11; 1.12.8–10), ἀνθρώπους πιστούς, "the faithful" (Aph^A 1.5.6), and τοὺς δικαίους, "the just" (Aph^A 1.9.3–4).¹³³ Drunkenness is also implicated in some instances (Aph^A 1.10.9–10; 1.11.5; 1.13.14; 1.16.14; cf. 1.2.14; 1.3.5).¹³⁴

"Purity" is also mentioned in the tour, although not in connection with any current sufferers.¹³⁵ There are substantive descriptions of Christian characters as "eunuchs" and "virgins" (Aph^A 1.7.8–9, 17, 22–23; 1.8.2–3; 1.10.19, 21, 28; 1.12.9), as well as references to ἀγνὸν ἀπὸ μετανοίας, "[those] pure by repentance" (Aph^A 1.10.22) and τοὺς ἐν ἀγνείᾳ διάγοντας, "those living in purity" (Aph^A 1.9.4; cf. 1.8.7). "Purity" is also

¹³¹ For an excellent discussion of tours of hell as a literary form, see Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983).

¹³² As Amsler notes, Aph^A 1 exhibits a different attitude toward material wealth than, e.g., Aph^A 3, 4, and 5–7 (Amsler, *Commentarius*, 28). At the end of Aph^A 1, Philip accepts a travel allowance from new believers (Aph^A 1.18.3–4).

¹³³ Amsler discusses the various "sins of speech" (ibid., 56–59). See also Slater, "Inquiry," 296.

¹³⁴ Cf. Amsler, *Commentarius*, 67.

¹³⁵ The tour of hell also lacks explicit condemnation of sexual sins, as Amsler observes (ibid., 55–56; cf. Slater, "Inquiry," 294–95).

implicitly portrayed as marking a Christian boundary when certain characters tell the young man, who has asked to see “the virgins”:

οὐ δύνασαι ἰδεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀπελθὼν ἐν κόσμῳ λάβῃς βάπτισμα καὶ κομίσησάυτῳ [sic] ἄσπιλον.

You cannot see them unless, returning to the world, you receive baptism and make yourself spotless. (APh^A 1.10.19–21)

Philip later confirms the necessity of baptism and spotless living. He tells the young man:

σὺ φύλασσε σεαυτὸν καὶ λάβε τὸ ἅγιον λουτρόν· καὶ καθὼς οἱ ἐκεῖ εἰρήκσιν [sic] σοι, ἐὰν μὴ ἀπενέγκῃς αὐτὸ ἄσπιλον, εἰς ἐκείνας ἐμπέσῃς τὰς κολάσεις.

Guard yourself and receive the holy washing. As they told you there, if you do not keep yourself spotless, you will face those punishments.” (APh^A 1.15.2–4)¹³⁶

The tour thus assumes the importance of “purity,” even if it is not a primary concern.

There may be some clues as to the nature of that concern in the fact that the tour never condemns “unbelief,” and that some people destined for punishment, including some individuals ministering at an altar (APh^A 1.13.5–6), display Christian traits.¹³⁷ Amsler argues based on the sins cited in the tour that the tradition is more concerned with opposition to rigorist Christianity than with general edification,¹³⁸ and Bovon suggests, “Those who are punished in hell are probably members of the majority church who while alive on earth abused their social standing and power to persecute members and ministers of the author’s minority Christian community.”¹³⁹ Regardless of the historical reconstruction, the fact that no one in the tour is being punished for lack of “purity” or “belief” does differ from the narrative frame where conversion is a prominent theme, and suggests that the tour is concerned with what could be described as an internal Christian boundary.

¹³⁶ The narrator reports τὸ βάπτισμα, “baptism” of new believers at the end of the scene (APh^A 1.18.3).

¹³⁷ Eating meat is also not mentioned (cf. APh^A 1.2.14).

¹³⁸ See Amsler, *Commentarius*, 58–59, 67.

¹³⁹ Bovon, “Women,” 111. See also Slater, “Inquiry,” 290.

References to Jesus/God

Linguistic differences between the tour and the narrative frame also point to differing literary concerns. There are too few references to Jesus/God in APh^A 1 for clear sociolinguistic patterns to emerge, but it is still possible to make a few observations.

Narrative Frame

First, the widow's references to Jesus/God seem to evolve over the course of the episode in parallel with her Christian status. When the widow first meets Philip, a point in the narrative when she displays no markers of Christian identity, she refers four times to plural "gods" (APh^A 1.1.10–11, 15, 20, 21).¹⁴⁰ After Philip offers to raise her son, however, the widow tells Philip, ἀληθῶς ἀπόστολος θεοῦ εἶ, "You are truly an apostle of God" (APh^A 1.2.10). In this speech, where the widow uses the singular "God," she also displays a marker of emerging Christian identity: she wonders whether it would be better to avoid marriage, wine, and meat (APh^A 1.2.12–14).¹⁴¹ Finally, when the widow is ready to believe, she uses Jesus' name: πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, "I believe in Jesus" (APh^A 1.3.12–13). Her references to Jesus/God thus seem to evolve along with her Christian status.

Philip's references to Jesus/God addressing the widow also seem to evolve as she converts. Philip initially offers to raise the widow's son, "by the power of my god Jesus Christ, the crucified and buried and risen and ruling the ages, in whom if anyone believes, he receives eternal life" (APh^A 1.2.5–8). Philip speaks of Jesus/God in a qualified manner here, perhaps because the widow still shows polytheistic tendencies (cf. APh^A 1.1.15). Later in the conversation, after the widow has mentioned ascetic practices, Philip makes three unmodified singular references to θεός, "God" (APh^A 1.3.4, 6, 7), refers to ὁ σωτήρ, "the savior" (APh^A 1.3.2), and quotes "God" as blessing those who

¹⁴⁰ In other episodes all references to plural "gods" are likewise by non-Christian characters (APh^A 5.11.2; 6.5.3; 6.15.8; 6.17.10; 14.3.5), apart from Ireos' references addressed to Nercella (APh^A 5.11.5).

¹⁴¹ Incidentally, the widow addresses Philip as ξένε ἄνθρωπε, "stranger" here (APh^A 1.2.9–10).

ἔχοντες πατέρα Ἰησοῦν τὸν σταυρωθέντα, “have as a father Jesus the crucified” (APh^A 1.3.11).¹⁴² His speech patterns may reflect the evolving Christian status of his addressee.

The other character to refer to Jesus/God in the narrative frame also refers to “Jesus” as well as to “God.” This is the widow’s son. As a living speaker, the young man displays markers of Christian identity. Although he was not a Christian before his death (cf. APh^A 1.1.5–6), and has not been baptized (cf. APh^A 1.10.20; 1.15.2), he undoubtedly “believes” by the time he finishes recounting his tour of hell (cf. APh^A 1.17.3–4). Furthermore, a comment by Philip in the middle of the scene suggests that he considers the young man to be already in the process of conversion as soon as he rises from the dead:

τέκνον, διδασκάλου χρείαν οὐκ ἔχεις, ἅπαξ θεώρησας τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὰς
κολάσεις. ἐὰν οὖν ἀγωνίσῃ καλῶς, ὑπὲρ πολλῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα
πατρωνεύσεις.

Child, you do not need a teacher, since you have seen once for all the
punishments for sins. If therefore you battle well, you will be patron of many
forever. (APh^A 1.15.4–6)¹⁴³

The young man is thus depicted as an emerging Christian character when he speaks in the narrative frame, and in this part of the episode, he refers to both “God” and “Jesus”:

- When he first rises from the dead, he refers to ἄγγελον θεοῦ, “an angel of God” (APh^A 1.4.6).
- He addresses Philip as δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ Φίλιππε, “Philip, servant of God” (APh^A 1.14.1) and θεοῦ ἀπόστολε, “apostle of God” (APh^A 1.16.1).
- In his announcement about “belief” at the end of the scene, he mentions τῷ θεῷ, “God”; τὸν ἀγαπητὸν Χριστόν, “the beloved Christ”; and τῷ Ἰησοῦ, “Jesus” (APh^A 1.17.3–7).

¹⁴² The source of this citation is unknown (Amsler, *Commentarius*, 73–74). Matthews attributes the reference to Jesus as “crucified” to a redactor, since the latter term also appears in other episodes (*Philip*, 178). Philip also uses the name of Jesus when raising the widow’s son: ἀνάστα, νεανίσκε, Ἰησοῦς σε ἐγείρε εἰς δόξαν ἰδίαν, “Rise, young man. Jesus raises you for his own glory” (APh^A 1.4.2).

¹⁴³ On the timing of the young man’s conversion, see Amsler, *Commentarius*, 30. Note that Philip’s addressing the young man as τέκνον, “child” (APh^A 1.15.4; 1.16.3) may simply reflect the young man’s age. Philip addresses the widow as ὦ μήτηρ and μήτηρ, “mother” (APh^A 1.2.1; 1.3.1).

His speech patterns are especially interesting because he uses a term that never appears in the tour of hell. Although Philip, the widow, and the young man all refer to “Jesus” in the narrative frame, Jesus’ name is never mentioned in the tour.¹⁴⁴

Tour of Hell

Most references to Jesus/God in the tour are simply to “God:”

- The archangel Michael comments, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, “God does not show favoritism” (APh^A 1.13.5–6).
- An angel mentions τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ, “the servants of God” (APh^A 1.16.12; cf. 1.10.23).
- The young man cries, ἴλεως ἴλεως γενοῦ ὁ θεός, “May God be merciful!” (APh^A 1.9.2), and announces, δικαία ἡ κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ, “God’s judgment is just” (APh^A 1.9.8).
- Some of those being tortured mention “God” (APh^A 1.6.10; 1.7.13–14).

A few other substantives are also used:

- A torturee refers to τὸν κριτὴν τὸν κρίνοντα ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, “the judge who judges the living and the dead” (APh^A 1.7.12–13).
- The archangel Michael mentions ὁ κρίνων, “the one who judges” (APh^A 1.8.3).¹⁴⁵
- Torturees are as cited as saying, ὁ Χριστὸς πλάνος ἐστί, “Christ is a deceiver” (APh^A 1.5.6–7).

The absence of Jesus’ name in the tour could be due to the literary form. One observes, for instance, that the name of Jesus is also lacking in some other extant tours of hell such as that of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. It could also relate to the composition history of the text, to the use of a source document, or to later redaction.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, it is still worth remarking that the use of Jesus’ name in the narrative frame but not in the tour also suits the differing literary emphases of those parts of the episode. Since the narrative frame concerns conversion of polytheists to Philip’s faith, and since belief in Jesus is repeatedly cited as a fundamental feature of Christian identity, one is not surprised that

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 41–42.

¹⁴⁵ τὸν μετακαλούμενόν σε, “the one calling you back” (APh^A 1.11.13; cf. 1.12.20) is probably a reference to Philip.

¹⁴⁶ On possible redaction, see Amsler, *Commentarius*, 34–44; Matthews, *Philip*, 172. The tour could represent an older kernel to which a narrative frame has been added.

Jesus' name regularly appears. Nor is it surprising that Jesus' name is not mentioned in the tour. If the tour is essentially concerned with internal Christian boundaries, there is no particular literary reason for characters to mention Jesus' name, and linguistic variation between sections of the text thus accords with differing literary emphases.

Implied and Intended Audience

There are not enough references to Jesus/God in APh^A 1 to comment on the Christian status of the implied or intended audience. The narrator only refers twice to ἐδόξαζον / δοξάζοντες τὸν θεόν, “glorifying God” (APh^A 1.18.3, 7) and once to πιστεύσαντες τῷ Χριστῷ, “believing in Christ” (APh^A 1.18.4–5).¹⁴⁷

Linguistic Indications that APh^A is a Collected Narrative

With the primary linguistic analysis of APh^A now complete, the scene is set for more general conclusions to be drawn. First, we will compare linguistic patterns between episodes. Recall that the chapter has analyzed APh^A in chunks because a preliminary survey revealed different linguistic tendencies in different episodes. Some of those differences will now be described, both to provide linguistic corroboration for the consensus that APh^A is a collected narrative, and to reflect further on the compositional process by considering the extent to which the final text has—or has not—been linguistically homogenized. Some linguistic evidence for redactional activity within APh^A 8ff. has already been described; this section concerns the stitching together of discrete episodes.

Direct Speech

Direct speech will be considered first.

¹⁴⁷ Slater suggests that although the implied readers of APh 1 in APh^V, which lacks the tour of hell, are “not necessarily Christian,” the implied readers of the tour are Christian ascetics (Slater, “Inquiry,” 290). In an early essay, Bouvier and Bovon suggest a possible pagan “missionary function” for APh^A 1 as a whole (Bertrand Bouvier and François Bovon, “Actes de Philippe, I, d’après un manuscrit inédit,” in *Oecumenica et patristica*, ed. Damaskinos Papandreou, Wolfgang A. Bienert, and Knut Schäferdiek [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1989], 393).

References to Philip and the Apostles

A notable linguistic difference between APh^A 5–7 and APh^A 8ff. is the higher frequency with which the term ξένος, “stranger,” is used for Philip in APh^A 5–7 than for the apostles in APh^A 8ff.¹⁴⁸ Characters make sixteen third-person references to Philip as “stranger” in APh^A 5–7, but only once refer to the apostles as “strangers” in APh^A 8ff., a notable difference given that both episodes depict the apostles as newcomers. Certain ways of referring to the apostles also reflect Christian status in each episode: only hostile characters refer to the apostles as μάγος, “magician,” or πλάνος, “deceiver,” while other ways of speaking, such as “righteous man” in APh^A 5–7 and “servants of God” in APh^A 8ff., correlate with signs of Christian identity. These similarities of plot and sociolinguistic relationships make the different frequencies with which the term “stranger” is used in the two episodes all the more striking.

There could be a literary explanation, of course. Although the apostles are depicted as newcomers at a narrative level in APh^A 8ff., some characters misunderstand that aspect of their identity. According to the narrator, local residents verify the cultic allegiance of approaching ξένους, “strangers” by observing whether or not they are bitten by the city’s guardian snakes (APh^A 13.1). When the apostles are not bitten, the local residents assume they must be adherents of the Viper cult (APh^A 13.2), which could explain why they are not called “strangers” more often in subsequent scenes. Nevertheless, this linguistic discrepancy between APh^A 5–7 and APh^A 8ff. could also trace to composition history, that is, to the two episodes’ having independent origins.¹⁴⁹

References to Jesus/God

Composition history is more clearly implicated by how characters refer to Jesus/God. On the one hand, there are sociolinguistic similarities between episodes, such as the fact

¹⁴⁸ This linguistic variable does not allow for comparison between other episodes, because there are no substantive references to Philip in direct speech in APh^A 3, only two in APh^A 4, and few in APh^A 1. Even in APh^A 8ff., characters make no substantive references to Philip as an individual, but references to the apostles as a group are roughly analogous.

¹⁴⁹ Tyrannognophos’ reference to the apostles as “strangers” may be secondary (APh^A M.14.4), but Stachys’ addressing them using the term is probably not (APh^A 14.2.4), which suggests that composition history is a more likely cause of the discrepancy than the literary explanation mentioned here.

that dialogue amongst established Christians is consistently characterized by a relatively high frequency of terms other than “god” (APh^A 3; 4; 5–7; 8ff.),¹⁵⁰ while non-Christians and emerging Christians employ “god” frequently and never make references to “the Lord” (APh^A 1; 4; 5–7; 8ff.).¹⁵¹ The ways in which Christians refer to Jesus/God also seem to reflect the Christian status of their addressees in several episodes. In APh^A 1, Philip’s references to Jesus/God in the narrative frame seem to evolve in parallel with the widow’s Christian status. In APh^A 3, unadorned references to “Jesus,” “Christ,” and “the Lord” in inter-apostolic dialogue contrast descriptive phrases used by Philip when he addresses the “men who are with me” who need instruction in “self-control.” In APh^A 5–7, Ireos’ referring to “the crucified” addressing the “Jewish” Aristarchus and employing modified “god” phrases addressing other non-Christians appears to be linguistic accommodation. In the Martyrdom, Philip less frequently uses the term “god” when addressing baptized characters than in other social contexts. Each of these episodes thus incorporates some sort of addressee-related variation in references to Jesus/God.

Nevertheless, this variation takes different forms. In APh^A 5–7, Ireos’ apparent accommodation to non-Christian addressees takes the form of more frequent use of the term “god,” a way of speaking that resembles how non-Christians speak. In APh^A 8ff., Philip similarly uses the term “god” more frequently when addressing non-Christian and unbaptized characters than in other social contexts, again resembling their own speech patterns. This contrasts APh^A 3, however, where Philip’s speech to the “men who are with me” does not incorporate the term “god” at all. In the latter scene, he instead employs descriptive phrases, a sociolinguistic difference that would support a conclusion that APh^A 3 and APh^A 5–7 had independent origins.¹⁵²

The extent to which Philip’s references to Jesus/God co-vary with the Christian status of his addressees also differs between episodes. In APh^A 5–7, Philip’s references to Jesus/God are relatively consistent, regardless of addressee identity, and he even speaks to Ireos of “the lord Jesus” and “the Lord” when Ireos is at quite early stages of Christian

¹⁵⁰ Data is lacking from APh^A 1.

¹⁵¹ Data is lacking from APh^A 3.

¹⁵² Or, theoretically, that APh^A 3–7, like APh^A 8ff., represents a reconstituted form of an originally unified narrative, drawing on at least two versions of the text.

conversion. This contrasts how Ireos speaks in APh^A 5–7, and how Philip is characterized in other episodes. In APh^A 8ff., Philip reserves references to “the Lord” for baptized characters, and in APh^A 3 he uses the term only when addressing the apostles Peter and John. Since there is no obvious literary reason why Philip would be depicted as varying his references to Jesus/God more in one episode than another, this sociolinguistic difference is best explained by composition history, supporting a conclusion that APh^A 5–7 had an independent origin.¹⁵³

Narration

While linguistic relationships in direct speech thus reveal unique features of APh^A 3 and APh^A 5–7, exploration of the narrator’s speech patterns supports a conclusion that APh^A 1 had an independent origin.

References to Philip

The narrator refers to Philip differently in APh^A 1 than in other episodes. In APh^A 1, the narrator refers to Philip once by name alone (APh^A 1.15.1), nine times as ὁ ἀπόστολος, “the apostle,”¹⁵⁴ and once each as Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, “Philip the apostle” (APh^A 1.1.1) and τὸν ἅγιον Φίλιππον, “the holy Philip” (APh^A 1.4.3–4). The preference for the term “apostle” in this act is striking, because it differs from how the narrator refers to Philip in other episodes.

In APh^A 3, the narrator refers to Philip twenty-one times by name alone,¹⁵⁵ and never simply as “the apostle.” There are individual references to Φίλιππος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ

¹⁵³ Possible distinctive features of direct speech in APh^A 1 include Philip’s use of the term “savior” with a non-Christian addressee (APh^A 1.3.2), and a reference to “the beloved Christ” by the widow’s son, also apparently addressing non-Christians. It is the adjective “beloved” that is striking in the latter context. Regarding his audience, the young man’s addressees shift during his speech. He begins his recital with a third-person reference to Philip as τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου, “this person” (APh^A 1.4.4), then directly addresses the apostle (APh^A 1.14.1–3; 1.16.1–2; cf. 1.17.2), and ends by affirming the benefits of believing in Jesus, an exhortation that hardly seems aimed at Philip. The young man’s audience seems to include only the widow, the apostle, and a group of non-Christian bystanders of whom the narrator subsequently reports that “many believed” (APh^A 1.18.2–3). At least, no other Christian characters are mentioned before the end of the episode (cf. Matthews, *Philip*, 174).

¹⁵⁴ APh^A 1.1.3, 5; 1.2.1; 1.3.1, 12; 1.4.1; 1.16.2; 1.18.3–4, 5. These are not all nominative.

¹⁵⁵ APh^A 3.1.5, 15, 17; 3.2.1; 3.3.1, 2; 3.4.1; 3.5.1, 5; 3.6.1; 3.8.1; 3.9.1; 3.10.1; 3.12.1; 3.13.1; 3.14.1, 6 (first person); 3.15.5, 15; 3.16.1; 3.19.2

ἀπόστολος, “Philip, the apostle of Christ” (APh^A 3.1.1) and ὁ μακάριος Φίλιππος, “the blessed Philip” (APh^A 3.3.7).

In APh^A 4, the narrator refers to Philip eight times by name alone,¹⁵⁶ twice as “the apostle” (APh^A 4.4.3; 4.5.1), and once each as τοῦ ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου, “the apostle Philip” (APh^A 4.1.1–2) and ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος Φίλιππος, “Philip, the servant of Christ” (APh^A 4.4.1).

In APh^A 5–7, the narrator refers to Philip 102 times by name alone,¹⁵⁷ six times as “the apostle,”¹⁵⁸ and once each as Φίλιππος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος, “Philip, the apostle of Christ” (APh^A 5.1.1) and Φίλιππος ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “Philip, the disciple of Christ” (APh^A 5.2.2–3).¹⁵⁹

In APh^A 8ff., the narrator refers to Philip 41 times by name alone,¹⁶⁰ six times as “the apostle,”¹⁶¹ several times as ὁ ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος / Φίλιππος ὁ ἀπόστολος, “the apostle Philip” (APh^A 12.1.1; 15.2.1; M.1.5; M.33.1; M.42.2), and once each as ὁ...τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος ἀπόστολος, “the apostle and servant of God” (APh^A 11.4.1) and οὗτος, “this one” (APh^A 11.4.7).¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶ APh^A 4.2.1, 7, 9; 4.3.1; 4.5.2, 6, 10; 4.6.5

¹⁵⁷ APh^A 3.1.5, 15, 17; 3.2.1; 3.3.1, 2; 3.4.1; 3.5.1, 5; 3.6.1; 3.8.1; 3.9.1; 3.10.1; 3.12.1; 3.13.1; 3.14.1, 6 (first person); 3.15.5, 15; 3.16.1; 3.19.2; 4.2.1, 7, 9; 4.3.1; 4.5.2, 6, 10; 4.6.5; 5.1.5; 5.2.1, 6; 5.3.1; 5.4.1, 9; 5.5.2; 5.6.2, 11; 5.7.2, 2–3, 5; 5.8.4, 7, 8, 10; 5.12.2, 5; 5.13.1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11; 5.14.2–3, 7; 5.15.3, 4, 6; 5.16.3; 5.17.2, 5; 5.19.1, 7, 10; 5.22.4, 6–7; 5.23.1, 3, 4; 5.24.1, 6; 5.25.1, 6 (x2); 5.26.3 (x2); 5.27.1; 6.1.1, 4 (x2); 6.5.8; 6.6.1, 4, 8, 9; 6.7.6, 7, 9; 6.8.1, 4; 6.9.2, 4; 6.10.1, 2; 6.11.2, 7; 6.12.1, 6–7, 10, 13; 6.13.1, 8, 9; 6.14.1; 6.15.18 (x2); 6.17.2, 6; 6.18.1, 4, 5; 6.19.2–3; 6.20.1, 7, 9; 6.21.5; 6.22.2, 3; 7.1.2, 6; 7.2.1, 2; 7.4.1, 4, 5; 7.5.3; 7.6.3; 7.7.1, 5; 7.8.4, 5

¹⁵⁸ APh^A 6.5.14; 6.6.10; 6.16.1–2; 6.17.5; 7.1.3

¹⁵⁹ The latter may be reported speech.

¹⁶⁰ APh^A 11.2.1; 11.5.7; 11.6.1; 11.9.1; 11.10.1–2; 12.1.6; 12.2.1; 12.7.1; 12.8.1; 13.1.2; 13.2.6; 13.3.7–8; 13.4.3; 13.5.1; 14.1.3; 14.5.1; 14.8.7; 14.9.1; 15.8.1; M.2.5, 10, 15, 21; M.14.8; M.19.1–2, 7; M.21.1; M.22.1; M.23.2, 3, 5; M.25.11; M.26.1; M.29.1; M.30.1; M.32.8, 12–13; M.34.1–2; M.35.1; M.36.2–3; M.38.1

¹⁶¹ APh^A 11.3.1; 11.7.1; 12.6.2; 15.6.1; M.7.1; M.41.8

¹⁶² The narrator refers to the apostles collectively as οἱ ἀπόστολοι, “the apostles” (APh^A 13.1.1; 13.2.1, 4; 13.3.5–6; 13.4.1; 13.5.24; 14.2.2; 15.1.10; M.2.13; M.16.2; M.27.4–5; M.32.21). These are not all nominative. APh^A 8.1.1 refers to the original apostles sent out by the Lord. APh^A 13.1.13 may not represent the narrator’s voice.

From this data, one can see that the narrator's tendency to refer to Philip as "the apostle" in APh^A 1 is unique; in every other episode the narrator more frequently refers to him by name alone. This linguistic difference is best explained by composition history and supports a conclusion that APh^A 1 had an independent origin.

References to Jesus/God

Generally speaking, the narrator's ways of referring to Jesus/God are roughly similar in each episode. It is interesting, however, that the narrator makes no references to "the Lord" in APh^A 1, and that narratorial references to the "Father" are limited to APh^A 8ff. (APh^A 15.8.4; M.2.11–12; M.42.13).

Summary and Remarks

Regarding these linguistic differences between episodes, one would of course hardly expect to find linguistic consistency in a narrative as long as APh^A. Nevertheless, because the linguistic differences correspond to the same divisions suggested by the manuscript tradition and by plot, there is every reason to surmise that at least some of them have arisen from compositional processes. It therefore seems reasonable to summarize this section with the conclusion that the unique linguistic features of APh^A 1, APh^A 3, and APh^A 5–7 described above corroborate other evidence that APh^A is comprised of at least five pieces with independent origins.¹⁶³

It is also interesting to consider what linguistic differences between the episodes reveal about the role of compilers in the APh^A tradition. In this regard, it is important to remember that just as linguistic inconsistencies in a text do not necessarily indicate source documents, not all texts that incorporate source documents exhibit linguistic inconsistencies. As remarked above, the strong relationships between speech patterns and social context in Acts^B, for instance, could simply indicate that a composer or redactor has homogenized sociolinguistic relationships in the final text. This possibility makes linguistic differences between episodes of APh^A all the more interesting; not only do they indicate that those involved in composing and transmitting individual episodes

¹⁶³ These five pieces would be APh^A 1, APh^A 2 (almost entirely missing from the manuscript and therefore not discussed in this chapter), APh^A 3–4 (separate origins for APh^A 3 and APh^A 4 are also possible), APh^A 5–7, and APh^A 8ff.

had differing linguistic and sociolinguistic sensibilities, but they show that compilers chose to let some of these differences persist, despite making efforts to present the final text as a continuous narrative. The latter unifying features include sequential numbering of the acts, as well as similarities in how Philip is referred to in act titles and openings, similarities that are especially striking given that references to Philip in act titles and openings often contrast how he is referred to in the main body of episodes. References to “the apostle Philip” or “Philip, the apostle (of Christ)” at the beginning of APh^A 1, 3, 4, and 5, and consistent references to τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου, “the holy apostle Philip,” in the titles of most acts (APh^A 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15) therefore probably reflect the compilation process,¹⁶⁴ and in light of this linguistic evidence of the compilation process, the maintenance of other linguistic differences between the episodes is all the more striking. One would like to know whether the lack of homogenization between episodes was motivated by respect for the traditions received, haste, lack of metalinguistic awareness, or by some other concern.

Reading APh^A in Light of Sociolinguistic Patterns

In addition to shedding light on composition history, attention to the relationship between speech patterns and social context also enhances understanding of APh^A in other ways.

Social Dynamics

First, speech patterns in APh^A highlight social dynamics. The relationships between references to Philip and the Christian status of speakers in APh^A 5–7 and APh^A 8ff., for instance, point to social differentiation along religious lines, as does speaker-related variation in references to Jesus/God both in these acts and in the narrative frame of APh^A 1. The social significance of Christian identity is also highlighted by the fact that Philip’s references to Jesus/God co-vary with the Christian status of his addressees in APh^A 3 and APh^A 8ff.

¹⁶⁴ In the titles of APh^A 6 and 12, the wording is roughly similar: Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, “Philip the apostle” (APh^A 6) and τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλίππου, “the holy Philip” (APh^A 12). Different wording in the title of the Martyrdom, on the other hand (τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ πανευφύμου ἀποστόλου, “the holy and well-famed apostle”), may reflect a source document.

Another interesting social dynamic is the way in which APh^A 5–7 and perhaps also APh^A 1 depict conversion as a holistic process involving not only changes in belief and practice but also linguistic assimilation. Contributing to this portrayal of conversion as a process with a linguistic element is the fact that the speech patterns of Ireos and perhaps also the widow seem to develop in parallel with their Christian status, development that is corroborated by evidence of linguistic accommodation in the two episodes by Ireos and Philip respectively.

In APh^A 5–7, speech patterns—namely consistently unmodified references to “god”—also distinguish “Jews” from other non-Christian characters, showing that although both “Jews” and other non-Christians may be stock literary opponents, this tradition has made some effort to portray them in distinct ways rather than simply depicting all non-Christian “others” homogeneously.¹⁶⁵

Themes and Theological Viewpoints

Sociolinguistic relationships also contribute to the development of themes and theological viewpoints. This chapter has illustrated, for instance, that Christian identity in APh^A is generally depicted in a more complex manner than in either AJ^{RZ} or Acts^B, and that it is typical for multiple practices to be necessary for advanced Christian status or even for “salvation” itself. In APh^A 5–7, Ireos and his family learn that in order to be “saved,” they must not only believe in Philip’s god, but also renounce conjugal relations, wealth, and beauty. In APh^A 8ff., Philip urges “self-control” involving avoidance of meat and excess wine. In APh^A 1, the widow professes faith both in Jesus and in “noble virginity.” Even in APh^A 3 and 4, oblique references to ascetic practices indicate multi-dimensional constructions of Christian identity.

Of interest to the current investigation is the fact that the importance of these practices is highlighted by attention to how Philip speaks, especially in APh^A 1, 3, and 8ff. As suggested above, variation in Philip’s references to Jesus/God in APh^A 1 may relate to the

¹⁶⁵ “Jews” and other non-Christians are also depicted as objecting to different aspects of Christian identity in APh^A 5–7. Other non-Christians associate Christian identity with conjugal separation and renouncing wealth, but “Jews” never complain about Philip’s ascetic teachings, and are more concerned with the question of Jesus’ messianic identity.

widow's recognition of "purity." In APh^A 3, meanwhile, his differing ways of speaking to the "men who are with me" and to his fellow apostles coincide with the former's need for "self-control," a linguistic boundary that is especially interesting given that there is some evidence that the "men who are with me" have already begun a conversion process when he speaks. The importance of "self-control" is also highlighted by linguistic variation in APh^A 8ff., especially if the current order of scenes is maintained. Recall that when Philip instructs Stachys on "self-control" in APh^A 15, he refers to Jesus/God differently than when addressing Bartholomew and Mariamne in earlier scenes, or when speaking to established (baptized) Christians later in the Martyrdom. This linguistic variation suggests that ascetic practices are not merely incidental outworkings of Christian faith, but fundamental aspects of identity that are significant enough to be reflected linguistically.

In the Martyrdom, meanwhile, sociolinguistic relationships underscore the importance of baptism, as well as pointing to a multi-dimensional and multi-stage construction of Christian identity. The relative frequency with which Philip uses the term "god" when addressing unbaptized characters, and his limited use of the term "brother" for baptized addressees, suggest that although he never explicitly prescribes baptism in the episode, the rite is nevertheless significant. It is also striking how Philip is depicted as distinguishing linguistically between baptized addressees and others who have not been baptized but nevertheless "believe," a form of sociolinguistic variation that highlights an understanding of Christian identity as not only multi-dimensional, but also temporally multi-stage.

Characterization

Speech patterns in APh^A also contribute to characterization. They shed light, for instance, on the question of Ireos' "Jewish" identity. It is interesting to observe that Ireos' references to Jesus/God more closely resemble those of non-"Jewish" characters in APh^A 5–7 than of "Jews." Whereas "Jews" consistently use the term "god" in unmodified forms, Ireos uses a number of modified "god" phrases, a way of speaking frequently attributed to non-"Jewish" non-Christians in the episode. If it is true that Ireos is introduced as a "one of [the Jews'] leaders," as most commentators assume, this linguistic

affinity between Ireos and non-“Jewish” non-Christians, which is mirrored in other aspects of characterization, is especially noteworthy. If Ireos is presented as nominally “Jewish,” yet never actively characterized as a “Jew,” this could reveal an underlying conviction that “Jews” in general are not willing to consider the claims of the Christian god.¹⁶⁶ Ireos’ speech patterns could also reflect hesitancy on the part of the tradition to suggest that “Jewish” and Christian identities could overlap in any meaningful way, a perspective on “Jewish” identity that would differ markedly from Acts^B, where many characters are portrayed as simultaneously Christians and Jews. Such a perspective would also differ from the Martyrdom of APh^A, where the apostles themselves are characterized as “Hebrew.”

In APh^A 5–7, Ireos’ speech patterns also contrast those of Philip and his ministerial colleagues, a linguistic distinction that may contribute to a characterization of Philip as being either superior or aloof. If Ireos’ use of modified “god” phrases in APh^A 6 is understood in terms of his own identity as a speaker, this may indicate that his Christian status is still less advanced than that of Philip, despite his personal belief and even promulgation of ascetic practices. If Ireos’ use of modified “god” phrases represents accommodation to non-Christian addressees, on the other hand, the fact that Philip’s speech patterns do not vary in a similar manner may characterize the latter as being somewhat aloof, although not necessarily in a negative sense. Such a dynamic would be especially interesting because in Acts^B, AJ^{RZ}, and even APh^A 8ff., the apostles’ speech patterns co-vary with the Christian status of their addressees much more clearly than those of other characters, making the apostles seem especially concerned to communicate clearly with a non-Christian audience. This aspect of characterization may be lacking in APh^A 5–7.

Sociolinguistic relationships also contribute to characterization at the end of the Martyrdom. Forty days after Philip’s death, Jesus takes the form of Philip and appears to Bartholomew and Mariamne, announcing:

¹⁶⁶ This would also be suggested by the fact that no (other) “Jewish” characters in APh^A 5–7 ever convert.

ἀδελφοί μου εὐλογημένοι, ἀνεπαύην ἐν τῇ ἀποθήκῃ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐν ταῖς φωτειναῖς αὐτοῦ μοναῖς.

My blessed brothers, I have found repose in the barn of the Father and in his dwellings of light. (APh^A M.42.3–4)

The narrator introduces this speaker as “the Lord,” but the figure Bartholomew and Mariamne see is Philip, and Jesus seems to want to be heard as Philip as well. It is not Jesus, but Philip who has “found repose,” and, given the social contexts in which the term “brother” is used elsewhere in the Martyrdom, his form of address also seems especially suited to inter-apostolic dialogue. Speech patterns thus contribute to a characterization of the speaker in this scene as Philip, despite his real identity as “the Lord.”¹⁶⁷

Implied and Intended Audience

Linguistic indicators for the implied audience of individual episodes have already been discussed. It has been suggested that references to Jesus/God may imply an established Christian audience for APh^A 3 and parts of APh^A 8ff., but do not provide sufficient grounds to comment on the implied audiences of APh^A 1, 4, or 5–7. They are also insufficiently informative regarding the implied and intended audiences of APh^A as a whole. Because compilers have not homogenized the text linguistically, and because there is no unified overarching sociolinguistic framework, there is no way to infer from references to Jesus/God whether the work as a whole was intended for a Christian audience. Such an audience seems likely, and is intuitively suggested by the descriptions of Philip and prayers in act titles, but this chapter provides no proof of that hypothesis.

¹⁶⁷ This is an inference from context, because Jesus does not use any other plural forms of address in APh^A 8ff., or even elsewhere in APh^A, with which to compare these words. He addresses all individuals by name, and there are no other references to Jesus/God by Jesus/God except for quotations and one command of Jesus that mentions τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, “the kingdom of God” (APh^A M.34.16). In ms. *Ath.* 346, Jesus twice addresses the apostles as ἀδελφοί μου, “my brothers” (APh 8.6.1; 8.7.1), but one cannot assume that the latter expression would have the same sociolinguistic distribution in APh^A.

Conclusion

In addition to the particular interpretive results discussed above, which I hope serve to illustrate further the potential benefits of paying attention to speaker and addressee identity when reading ancient texts, the sociolinguistic relationships described in this chapter also lead toward the broader conceptual and methodological conclusions mooted in chapters 2 and 3, that social as well as referential or theological aspects of expressions should be taken into account when discussing their significance, and that claims in this regard should be evidence- rather than intuition-based. In the latter respect, there are a number of expressions in APh^A whose social significance may differ from modern readers' expectations. One might expect that referring to Philip as a "stranger" would indicate hostility, for instance, but some characters who speak that way in APh^A 5–7 show signs of emerging Christian identity.¹⁶⁸ Modern readers may also be surprised to discover that even a fairly established (monolatrous) Christian such as Ireos in APh^A 6 still uses modified "god" phrases such as "his god." One could also hypothesize that certain ways of speaking are "Christian language," when their function in a text is something else entirely. Amsler suggests, for instance, that Stachys, who calls Philip "man of God" (APh^A 14.4.1) and says, "I will believe in God" (APh^A 14.4.2), "speaks like a Christian."¹⁶⁹ Close attention to the relationship between speech patterns and social context in APh^A 8ff. suggests just the opposite, however, that from a literary perspective Philip is depicted as "speaking like a non-Christian" or "speaking like someone who has not yet been baptized" when he refers to "God," that he is accommodating his speech patterns to those of his addressees.

Whether Stachys "speaks like a Christian" from a historical perspective is another question entirely, of course, and a few remarks on that issue will be made in chapter 5.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ See above, p. 173.

¹⁶⁹ "Le dévot de la Vipère parle en chrétien" (Amsler, *Commentarius*, 391).

¹⁷⁰ Amsler may have historical ways of speaking in mind when he says that Stachys "speaks like a Christian," because he describes the language of the antagonistic Ananias of APh 2 in the same way (ibid., 114–15). Indeed, both the literary and historical import of Stachys' unmodified singular references to "God" are interesting to speculate about. From a literary perspective, Stachys has previously believed in plural "gods" (APh^A 14.3.5), and has not overheard Philip refer to "God" if APh^A 13 gives a full account of Philip's speech. If Stachys' reference to persecuting "Christians" is not merely anachronistic, however (cf. Bovon, "Les Actes," 4508), his unmodified

The final chapter will also summarize sociolinguistic similarities and differences between the three texts analyzed in this thesis, showing that the social significance of expressions sometimes differs between them. To give one example here, Christians never use the expression “Jesus of Nazareth” amongst themselves in Acts^B, but in APh^A 8ff. it appears in inter-apostolic dialogue. Insofar as the expression is associated with “Hebrew” speech contexts in APh^A 8ff., and with contexts involving non-Christian Jews in Acts^B, the social overtones of the expression do overlap. Nevertheless, one must remember that “Hebrew” speech contexts in APh^A 8ff. are also Christian ones, and that the expression thus has a different social significance in each narrative.

references to “God” could accord with his being pre-exposed to their teaching. Historically, it is worth observing that some singular references to “the god” are attested in “pagan” literature such as the Greek novel by Chariton (e.g., 1.1.6.2; 2.2.1.6; 3.3.10.6; 6.1.10.5; 8.3.6.2).

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The three preceding chapters have examined relationships between speech patterns and social context in single manuscript traditions of three ancient narratives: the Acts of the Apostles (B), the Acts of John (RZ), and the Acts of Philip (A). Each case study has traced correlations between select social and linguistic variables, and illustrations have been provided of ways in which sociolinguistic relationships shed light on social dynamics and compositional processes, contribute to characterization and the development of literary themes, and inform the question of the implied and intended audience. Certain methodological implications of the study have also been discussed. This chapter concludes the thesis by summarizing the case studies, then by exploring how the broader conceptual and methodological implications suggested in the preceding chapters are supported by sociolinguistic similarities and differences between the narratives. The chapter also discusses whether ancient narratives provide reliable historical information about actual conversational practices and suggests avenues for future research.

Highlights from the Case Studies

Before addressing conceptual issues, it will be helpful to summarize a few highlights from the case studies.

Acts of the Apostles (Acts^B)

Chapter 2 explores the relationship between speech patterns and social context in the Vaticanus tradition of the Acts of the Apostles. It shows that forms of address used by Christian characters, and the ways in which Christians refer to Jesus and to their god, co-vary with both the Christian status and the gentile-Jewish identity of their addressees. Amongst themselves, Christians' references to θεός, "god," are almost always unmodified, and references to Jesus are drawn from a small set of short, direct expressions, including references to "the lord Jesus (Christ)" and "the Lord." This contrasts how Christians speak to non-Christian Jews. In the latter context, many references to Jesus are modified by long relative clauses; there are no references to "the lord Jesus (Christ)"; and some expressions occur that never appear in inter-Christian

dialogue, such as “Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth” and “the messiah.” Christians are thus portrayed as distinguishing linguistically between Christians and non-Christian Jews. They also draw a linguistic boundary between themselves and non-Christian gentiles. In the latter social context, Christians never employ kinship terms, nor do they refer to “the lord Jesus (Christ),” or speak substantively of “the Lord.” They also modify most first references to “god” in ways that suggest they want to clarify the identity of the referent. In these ways, linguistic relationships in Acts^B point to a Christian “insider space” that excludes both non-Christian Jews and non-Christian gentiles.

Speech patterns in Acts^B also reveal a unique relationship between Jewish and Christian identity, given similarities between how Christians speak both amongst themselves and when addressing non-Christian Jews that differ from how they speak when addressing non-Christian gentiles. Thus Christians use the term “brothers” as a form of address for both Christians and non-Christian Jews, but never for non-Christian gentiles. Amongst themselves and when addressing non-Christian Jews, Christians also sometimes refer substantively to “the Lord,” and most first references to “god” are unmodified, ways of speaking that likewise differ from how they speak to non-Christian gentiles. Linguistic patterns in Acts^B thus point to the existence of both a primary Christian and a secondary Christian-Jewish insider space, with Christian characters holding non-Christian gentiles at a greater linguistic distance than non-Christian Jews.

Chapter 2 also describes how speech patterns contribute to characterization of Cornelius as “more Jewish” than other gentiles, and discusses how the similarity of the narrator’s speech patterns to inter-Christian dialogue suggests a Christian implied and intended audience.

Acts of John (AJ^{RZ})

Linguistic relationships in the Acts of John (RZ) also point to an implied and intended audience of established Christians, a finding that challenges the common proposal that AJ was composed for evangelistic purposes. In AJ^{RZ}, John’s references to Jesus/God co-vary with the Christian status of his addressees. When he addresses non-Christians or unestablished Christian characters, he most frequently uses expressions such as “my god,”

that is, expressions involving the term “god” with clarifying modifiers. Addressing established Christians, on the other hand, he more frequently uses other substantives such as “lord,” and refers to “God” in an unmodified form. Because context suggests that John is accommodating his language for non-Christian addressees, it is unlikely that the narrator’s seemingly inter-Christian speech patterns indicate anything but a Christian intended audience.

Speech patterns in AJ^{RZ} also contribute to the tradition’s portrayal of conversion as a process. In the Artemis temple episode, John speaks to the Ephesians of “my god” both at the beginning of the action, and even after they declare themselves “converted.” It is only after they join him at Andronicus’ house for teaching, “the eucharist,” and prayer that he refers to “God” in an unmodified form, and mentions “Jesus Christ” and “the Lord.” John’s calling the Ephesians “men” in the middle of the episode, a form of address that contrasts the kinship terms and terms of endearment he typically uses when addressing established Christians, also contributes to a portrayal of conversion as a process and of Christian identity as something gradually acquired.

Chapter 3 also suggests that the speech patterns of John and Drusiana when addressing characters who are not present living humans may relate to the Christian status of bystanders.

Acts of Philip (APh^A)

Chapter 4 discusses how speech patterns in the Xenophontos tradition of Acts of Philip shed light on compositional processes. It is argued that linguistic differences between episodes confirm other evidence that APh^A is a collected narrative consisting of at least five independent sections. The frequency with which the narrator refers to Philip as “the apostle” in APh^A 1 points to an independent origin for that episode, and Philip’s references to “the lord Jesus” and “the Lord” addressing a not-quite-Christian Ireos make APh^A 5–7 unique. The chapter suggests furthermore that inconsistent sociolinguistic relationships within APh^A 8ff., such as the relative frequency with which Philip refers to “God” when addressing the baptized Stachys in APh^A 15, probably reflect the work of a redactor, perhaps someone reconstituting the latter episode from multiple manuscripts.

Overall, the persistence of differing linguistic relationships within APh^A is striking. It indicates that those involved in composing and transmitting episodes had differing linguistic and sociolinguistic sensibilities, and that compilers, if they were aware of such inconsistencies, chose not to homogenize the final text.

Chapter 4 also examines how addressee-related speech variation within individual episodes mirrors multi-dimensional and sometimes graded constructions of Christian identity. In APh^A 3, Philip's use of descriptive expressions to refer to Jesus/God when addressing the "men who are with me" highlights the importance of "self-control." The varying frequencies with which he uses the terms "god" and "brother" in the Martyrdom, meanwhile, point to a worldview in which "belief" and baptism represent distinguishable aspects of Christian identity, and even separate stages of Christian life.

Chapter 4 also suggests that Ireos' increasingly positive references to Philip in APh^A 5–7 indicate an understanding of conversion as involving linguistic development, and that his use of modified "god" phrases confirms that he is not characterized as "Jewish" in the text.

Implications of Similarities between the Traditions

As the preceding summary demonstrates, exploring how speech patterns relate to the identities of speakers and addressees is not only intrinsically interesting, but also bears interpretive fruit for the study of ancient texts, shedding light on social dynamics and compositional processes, highlighting the role of speech patterns in characterization and the development of literary themes, and informing the question of the implied and intended audience. This way of looking at texts thus has the potential to enhance understanding of well-known texts such as the Acts of the Apostles, as well as texts that have been little researched such as the Acts of Philip and the Acts of John. The results of the study do not merely encourage the consideration of speaker and audience factors when analyzing ancient texts, however. For certain questions, the study's results imply that consideration of such factors is a necessity, as examination of sociolinguistic similarities and differences between the narratives brings to light.

Similarities

One notable commonality is that speech patterns in all three narratives correlate to some degree with the Christian status of speakers and/or addressees. Religious identity in the narratives is manifested not only in beliefs and practices, in other words, but also linguistically, through differences in how characters speak (e.g., APh^A 5–7; 8ff.) or are spoken to (e.g., Acts^B; AJ^{RZ}; APh^A 1, 3, 8ff.). Apparent development in the speech patterns of converting characters such as Ireos (APh^A 5–7) and Lycomedes (AJ^{RZ}) is a corollary social phenomenon.

Some specific references to Jesus/God also correlate with the same social contexts in multiple texts. In both AJ^{RZ} and multiple sections of APh^A, dialogue amongst established Christians is characterized by a relatively high frequency of substantives other than “god,” and frequent use of modified “god” phrases distinguishes speech addressed to (gentile) non-Christians and/or unestablished Christians in multiple traditions, including Acts^B, AJ^{RZ}, and APh^A 5–7.

Finally, it has been suggested on a number of occasions that when the apostles’ speech patterns resemble distinct ways of speaking attributed to non-Christian or unestablished Christian characters, this may represent linguistic “accommodation” or “convergence” toward the speech patterns of their addressees.¹ Since it would be too simplistic to view ways of speaking as relating merely to single contextual factors, and since the current project has not comprehensively analyzed the relationship between the selected linguistic variables and all possible factors that may have occasioned their use, this suggestion remains a hypothesis. Nevertheless, based on the linguistic variables examined, this study suggests that it may be possible to attribute accommodative speech behavior to the apostles in several traditions, including Acts^B, AJ^{RZ}, and APh^A 8ff.

Conceptual and Methodological Implications

These sociolinguistic similarities between the texts, especially the fact that speech patterns in all three narratives co-vary to some degree with the identity of speakers

¹ For definitions of the terms “accommodation” and “convergence,” see above, p. 30.

and/or addressees, have important implications for how the significance of words and expressions is determined not only in these narratives, but also in other ancient texts. Within the narratives, the results indicate that there are not only referential or theological, but also social aspects to the “meanings” of the words and expressions analyzed, social aspects that ought to be taken into consideration when the significance of these ways of speaking is discussed lest one miss important nuances of lexical choice or even misunderstand how certain speech patterns function in the narratives.

The implications of the results go beyond the level of individual words in individual texts, however. If sociolinguistic relationships had been found only in one text, such the Acts of the Apostles, it would have been possible to argue that the author of that tradition was uniquely aware of how speech patterns relate to social context, or that his incorporation of sociolinguistic variation into his work related to his rhetorical training or literary skill. It would have been possible to suggest, in other words, that ways of speaking in ancient texts might only occasionally have social significance. This study has shown, however, that the phenomenon is not limited to a single text, but is demonstrable in multiple different traditions, and is therefore not an idiosyncratic feature of a single author’s work.² This does not mean that all speech patterns relate in significant ways to the identity of speakers and addressees in all ancient texts, but it does show that such relationships are a possibility that has to be taken seriously. Because this also accords with sociolinguistic observations for modern languages, I would argue that the findings of the study imply that social factors including addressee identity could regularly attend the use of expressions in ancient texts, and that such factors should therefore be considered whenever the significance of expressions is discussed.

If one ignores the possible social “meanings” of words and expressions, one runs the risk of missing interesting social information they convey, and perhaps even of misinterpreting their significance. A few examples of such potentially misunderstood

² There may of course be a relationship between compositional talent and manifestations of sociolinguistic variation in ancient texts, but probably not such as limits the phenomenon only to a few narratives.

expressions have been given in the conclusions to chapter 2–4, one of which I will mention again here to illustrate the point. It was remarked in chapter 2 that when a character in Acts^B refers to “the lord Jesus” and probably also when he or she refers to Jesus as “the Lord” it seems to indicate, among other things, that both the speaker and his or her addressee are Christians. This suggests that when we discuss the significance of the use of the term “lord” for Jesus in early Christian texts, we should not necessarily prioritize its possible honorific or theological overtones, but leave open the possibility that a Christian author could have employed the expression simply with the intent of drawing on a common “social meaning” of the phrase to build solidarity with his or her (Christian) audience. It seems ill-advised to prioritize theological aspects of “meaning” arbitrarily, as if ascription of the title “lord” to Jesus is always primarily intended as a statement about *his* identity, rather than relating—possibly—to the identities of speaker and addressee.³

Implications of Differences between the Traditions

While the results of the study thus encourage and even indicate the necessity of considering social factors such as addressee identity when discussing the significance of expressions encountered in ancient texts, they also call for such consideration to be done in a principled manner and challenge intuition-based attribution of social significance to expressions in the absence of evidence. In chapter 4, it was shown that speech patterns in the various sections of APh^A relate to social context in different ways, and in chapters 2 and 3 examples were given of ways in which sociolinguistic relationships differ even between manuscripts of the same narratives. As commented in those contexts, if expressions relate differently to social context even between manuscripts of the same narrative, it is difficult to see how modern scholars could expect to “intuit” their

³ Also problematic would be the assumption that an author always uses the same expressions with the same intended overtones. Coupland writes, “We have to be aware of complexities and possible instabilities in meaning relationships. We should not expect linguistic features to have unique social meanings, even in the same socio-cultural settings” (Coupland, *Style*, 23). Cf. Brown and Levinson, “Social Structure,” 333.

significance accurately at all times. An examination of sociolinguistic differences between the three narratives also leads to the same methodological conclusion.

Differences

One striking sociolinguistic difference between narratives is the varying degree to which the apostles' speech patterns co-vary with the Christian status of their addressees between APh^A 5–7 and the other texts, and between episodes of APh^A. It is also worth noting that since Philip's references to Jesus/God in APh^A 5–7 exhibit comparatively little variation according to the Christian status of his addressees, the latter sociolinguistic phenomenon is clearly not a universal feature of ancient Christian narratives.

The particular aspects of Christian identity that occasion linguistic boundaries also vary between the traditions analyzed. In APh^A 3 and perhaps also APh^A 8ff., a need for “self-control” coincides with differences in how Philip speaks, but little emphasis is placed on “self-control” in Acts^B, and it is not manifested linguistically. The latter tradition also lacks the sociolinguistic differentiation between baptized and unbaptized characters that is evident in APh^A 8ff., and the sociolinguistic representation of conversion as a process found in AJ^{RZ}.⁴ Although speech patterns relate to Christian status in each of these traditions, therefore, linguistic boundaries are occasioned by different aspects of identity.

The social significance of particular ways of speaking also varies. Although “brothers” functions as an “insider” form of address in several traditions, it does not characterize the same people as being “inside.” In Acts^B, both Christians and non-Christian Jews are addressed as “brothers,” whereas in AJ^{RZ} John only speaks this way with established Christian addressees. In the main body of APh^A 8ff., furthermore, those addressed as “brothers” have been baptized.

The social significance of certain ways of referring to Jesus/God also differs. In APh^A, “Jesus of Nazareth” is used in inter-Christian dialogue, but in Acts^B its distribution is

⁴ On conversion as a process in AJ^{RZ}, see above, pp. 135–36. Neither baptism nor “washing” are mentioned in AJ^{RZ}.

limited to dialogue involving non-Christian Jews.⁵ Substantive references to “the messiah” also appear in a wide variety of social contexts in APh^A, including inter-apostolic dialogue (APh^A 3.1.7), whereas in Acts^B they only occur in social contexts involving non-Christian Jews, at least in direct speech.⁶ Similarly, Christians in Acts^B only refer to “the lord Jesus” amongst themselves, whereas Philip speaks this way to Ireos in APh^A 5 when the latter has hardly begun converting to Christianity. The social significance of each of these ways of speaking therefore differs between the traditions analyzed.

It is also worth observing that the references to “my god,” “his god,” and/or “your god” that are characteristic of social contexts involving non-Christian or unestablished Christian characters in AJ^{RZ} and APh^A 5–7 are entirely absent from Acts^B,⁷ and that whereas the term “god” is typically modified only the first time it is used in a given scene in Acts^B, it is routinely modified in AJ^{RZ} and APh^A 5–7.⁸ An unmodified reference to “God” therefore does not necessarily have the same social significance in Acts^B as in other traditions.

Conceptual and Methodological Implications

Just as sociolinguistic differences between manuscripts of the Acts of the Apostles and the Acts of John call for caution when attributing social significance to the expressions analyzed, the sociolinguistic differences between the narratives also call into question any assumption that such relationships can be determined accurately without recourse to appropriate evidence. Not only are there differences in the social significance of expressions between texts—references to “the messiah” do not always have “Jewish” overtones, for instance, and the term “brothers” does not always relate to the Christian

⁵ See above, p. 228.

⁶ In APh^A, characters who are not “Jews” also use the expression (e.g., APh^A 1.5.6), and cite Philip as using it with them (APh^A M.22.8). For other instances of the term, see Appendix A.

⁷ The only reference to “god” modified by a personal pronoun in Acts^B is Peter’s referring to “the Lord our god” on Pentecost (Acts^B 2:39), but his first person plural has different connotations than singular pronouns in the other traditions. Note that in APh^A 1, 4, and 8ff., there are occasional references to “god” modified by singular pronouns, but they are not as prevalent as in APh^A 5–7 and AJ^{RZ}.

⁸ See above, p. 99.

identity of addressees⁹—the traditions even have differing conceptions of who is “in” and who is “out,” with emphasis on differing aspects of identity reflected in differing sociolinguistic boundaries. All of this implies that a more robust method of determining sociolinguistic relationships is needed than simply to assert that expressions are “insider language” or that they relate to speaker and addressee identity in some other way on the basis of intuition alone.

What principles should be followed when seeking to determine the social significance of words and expressions used in ancient texts? The most robust findings will come from comparative analysis of the relationship between linguistic and social variables within single manuscript traditions of single texts, as has been done in this study. Basing linguistic analysis on single texts is important because it controls for the fact that different authors may use the same expression in different ways, and comparative speech data is the best basis on which to argue that different speech patterns would actually have been used in different contexts. Depending on the aspects of social context to be considered, texts without dialogue could be employed, although for studies of the relationship between speech patterns and addressees, the best platforms will probably be narratives. Addressee-related variation could also be explored by comparing multiple texts by the same author, however, if one could establish the differing identities of the intended audience with relative certainty, and ensure that each text either accurately reflects the author’s own words or has been subject to the same redactional processes.¹⁰

The procedure most unlikely to yield consistently accurate information about addressee-related variation, on the other hand, is to “intuit” the significance of expressions based on individual texts without dialogue, and it is thus problematic to argue on the basis of Paul’s letters alone that particular expressions are “Christian insider language” with no evidence that he would have written differently to a non-Christian audience. As Judith

⁹ The expression “the messiah” lacks “Jewish” overtones in many parts of APh^A, and Christians use “brothers” when addressing non-Christian Jews in Acts^B.

¹⁰ Examples have been given in each chapter of speech patterns that differ between manuscript traditions of the same narratives (see above, pp. 70–71, 128–31, 142). This must be taken into account when comparing across texts.

Irvine remarks, “It is seldom useful to examine a single style in isolation... The characteristics of a particular style cannot be explained independently of others. Instead, attention must be directed to relationships among styles – to their contrasts, boundaries, and commonalities.”¹¹ This does not mean that Paul’s ways of writing do not relate meaningfully to the Christian status of his addressees, but that those relationships will be much harder for contemporary research to determine than when considering narratives with dialogue.¹²

There are ways that addressee-related information could be gleaned from texts without dialogue, however. One possibility would be to look for meta-linguistic remarks indicating that a particular way of speaking has a certain social significance. Writers may state explicitly that an expression is only used in a certain social context, for instance, or comment that someone using the expression in another context had made a “mistake.” Meta-linguistic commentary of this type would give clues as to the writer’s understanding of how speech patterns relate to social context, and would be useful not only in determining addressee-related significance, but also in defining other types of sociolinguistic relationships. Another, more challenging way that the social significance of expressions could be determined would be to survey a very large number of texts in the hopes that expressions were consistently associated with the same social contexts throughout a given time period and geographic area. Nevertheless, one would have to keep in mind that the existence of general patterns would not guarantee that any individual writer used expressions in typical ways.

¹¹Judith T. Irvine, “‘Style’ as Distinctiveness: The Culture and Ideology of Linguistic Differentiation,” in *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*, ed. Penelope Eckert and John R. Rickford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 22.

¹²Barclay’s approach has validity when he compares the frequency of the adjective πνευματικός in Paul’s letters and non-Christian texts to argue, partly on this basis, that it was “insider language” for Pauline Christian communities (Barclay, “Pneumatikos,” 165). His study only really demonstrates a correlation between Pauline usage and the Christian identity of the writer, however, insufficiently informing the question of whether Paul would have used the term if addressing a non-Christian audience. On the complicated significance of “frequency” in sociolinguistic studies, see above, p. 111 n. 61.

Extrapolating from Ancient Texts to Spoken Conversation

Extensive surveys—revealing consistent sociolinguistic relationships—would also be necessary before one could make historical claims regarding how ways of speaking in ancient narratives reflect conversational practices in the ancient world. There are several reasons that I am hesitant to suggest that the ways of speaking encountered in Acts^B, AJ^{RZ}, and APh^A necessarily reflect how ancient people actually spoke. First, there is the fact that literary dialogue is always stylized to some degree. One feels that some speeches and prayers in AJ^{RZ} and APh^A, for instance, can hardly have been composed with verisimilitude in mind. To give just one example, when Philip addresses Peter and his companions as ὧ συνπνεύμονες, “fellows of the Spirit” (APh^A 3.1.6), it is not at all self-evident that that this is designed either to represent how the apostles actually spoke, or to reflect a common form of address in the writer’s own community. Although speech patterns in the narratives no doubt resemble ways of speaking familiar to the authors and redactors to some degree, it would be virtually impossible to determine which ways of speaking reflect conversational practices and which diverge for literary reasons based on the narratives alone.¹³

A second complicating factor is the fact that even writers who intend to represent actual conversational practices may not be able to do so accurately. If those who composed the

¹³ Cf. Dickey, “Greek Address System,” 522; Willi, “Register Variation,” 297–98; Aristotle *Poetics* 1458b. Dickey notes that some authors try to mimic conversational practices more than others (Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address*, 39). The comments of Mikhail Bakhtin are interesting in this regard. He writes that a skilled novelist “makes no effort at all to achieve a linguistically (dialectologically) exact and complete reproduction of the empirical data of those alien languages he incorporates into his text—he attempts merely to achieve an artistic consistency among the *images* of these languages. An artistic hybrid...is stylized through and through, thoroughly premeditated, achieved, distanced” (Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, 366). Stephen Colvin, writing about literary representations of dialect, also offers the wise counsel to consider the linguistic conventions of particular literary genres when thinking about the relationship between literary dialogue and spoken interaction (Colvin, *Dialect*, 14–15). Citing Dickens as an author whose representations of regional dialect do not always mirror spoken dialects in all details, and in whose writings characters of similar regional backgrounds are not always portrayed as speaking in dialect to the same degree, Colvin comments, “The significance of dialect features...cannot be properly evaluated without an understanding of the literary function of the characters who speak in dialect; the dramatic roles of the various characters is the main factor in the amount of dialect colouring their narratives” (ibid., 17–20, qu. 18).

three apostolic narratives studied in this thesis were hoping to reproduce speech patterns from apostolic times, they would have been hampered by the fact that language had changed in the intervening decades or centuries.¹⁴ If, on the other hand, they were trying to represent speech patterns from their own times, they would have been limited by “communicative competence,” the extent to which they were aware of and able to reproduce the sort of language individuals of various social backgrounds would typically use in various social contexts.¹⁵ Had they heard enough conversations among the sorts of people included in the narrative to reproduce speech patterns in realistic ways?¹⁶ And were they able to reproduce ways of speaking accurately, rather than stereotyping how other people speak? Research in Communication Accommodation Theory suggests that speakers sometimes accommodate or “converge” toward stereotypes rather than toward the actual communicative behavior and abilities of interlocutors, a finding that suggests writers may not always be able to reproduce others’ speech patterns accurately, despite intending to do so.¹⁷

Finally, one needs to take linguistic diversity into account. Since no two human beings, not even siblings, use language in the exact same ways, the most one could claim based on a single text would be that the speech patterns attributed to various characters represent the writer’s own individual sense of sociolinguistic propriety. One could never claim based on a single text that everyone in the writer’s community spoke as do the

¹⁴ Nikolas Coupland observes that the social meaning of a particular way of speaking can vary across time (Coupland, *Style*, 84).

¹⁵ “Communicative competence,” a term coined by Dell Hymes in 1966, is variously defined. It typically encompasses an individual’s grammatical and lexical repertoire, as well as his or her awareness of and ability to engage with the relationship between particular ways of speaking and the social contexts in which they are typically employed. For an early version of the concept, see Dell H. Hymes, “On Communicative Competence,” in *Linguistic Anthropology: A Reader*, ed. Alessandro Duranti (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2001), 53–73.

¹⁶ Cf. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, *Acts of Identity*, 182; Colvin, *Dialect*, 21–23.

¹⁷ See Shepard, Giles, and Le Poire, “Communication Accommodation Theory,” 39; Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, “Accommodation Theory,” 15–17; Nikolas Coupland et al., “Accommodating the Elderly: Invoking and Extending a Theory,” *Language in Society* 17 (1988): 1–41; Bell, “Language Style,” 168; cf. Schilling-Estes, “Constructing,” 186–87. An interesting article on the meta-linguistic awareness of average non-linguists and their ability to control variable speech features is Dennis R. Preston, “Whaddayaknow?: The Modes of Folk Linguistic Awareness,” *Language Awareness* 5 (1996): 40–74; cf. Coupland, *Style*, 103.

characters in the narrative.¹⁸ Only if one conducted large surveys of extant literature, and only if these surveys revealed consistent relationships between certain ways of speaking and particular features of social context—in the entire corpus from a particular time period and geographic locality, across all texts, authors, and genres—could one argue with any confidence that those ways of speaking reflected actual conversational practices.¹⁹

Directions for Future Research

As remarked in chapter 1, my hope in this thesis has been to encourage more analyses of ancient texts to be informed by sociolinguistic insights, and in particular by an awareness of the potential relationship between speech patterns and social context. Of the many sociolinguistic questions that can be asked in this regard, here are a few potential topics to illustrate the possibilities. For addressee-related variation, one could examine Christian gospels or ancient Greek novels, or conduct further study of the three Acts narratives examined in this thesis, asking how the same linguistic variables relate to situational factors such as topic and setting, as well as to the gender, age, social role, and/or social class of speakers and addressees.²⁰ The relationship between Christian status and other lexical features in the narratives could also be analyzed in order to define the extent of sociolinguistic variation more comprehensively, and to explore whether linguistic boundaries always coincide with the same markers of identity. One might also follow the lead of researchers such as Josep Rius-Camps and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger

¹⁸ On the difficulty of generalizing from individual case studies, see Coupland, *Style*, 27–28.

¹⁹ Dickey, all of whose sociolinguistic work is based on extensive surveys of relevant literature, discusses how one might learn about conversational practices from written texts. She suggests prioritizing genres that are likely to aim for verisimilitude, and drawing on multiple authors and genres to rule out single-author or single-genre peculiarities (Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address*, 38–41). She also argues that although ancient Greek texts do not provide a perfect picture of conversational Greek, the picture is not necessarily completely inaccurate (249–55), and that research based on written texts in general “is probably no more inaccurate than the collection of data from spoken sources,” given the difficulty of defining broad-level linguistic patterns for modern spoken languages (38). I am perhaps more skeptical than Dickey and therefore find the conclusion to her study of forms of address pleasantly qualified: “We may reasonably assume that we have reached at least as close an approximation of the upper-class Athenian system as sociolinguists normally reach for modern languages” (255).

²⁰ See above, pp. 8–13.

and further explore sociolinguistic differences between different manuscript traditions of the same narratives.²¹

It would also be interesting to see if linguistic “divergence” ever occurs in ancient texts. Contemporary researchers have observed that although a speaker’s speech patterns may “converge” toward those of his or her interlocutor, sometimes speech patterns “diverge” instead.²² Knowing the extent to which the latter phenomenon occurs in ancient texts would be valuable, because it would inform the question of how likely it is that “insider language” corresponds to an insider audience. It would also be worth examining narratives that incorporate less sociolinguistic variation than those analyzed in this thesis, in order to reflect on the question of what sociolinguistic variation may reveal about a writer’s abilities, addressees, or purposes.

Finally, one might investigate “diachronic linguistic convergence,” whether Christian converts seem to have been actively taught new ways of speaking or simply to have acquired linguistic competence by exposure to the Christian community. This would provide insight into the meta-linguistic awareness of ancient Christian communities and the role that language played in the formation of Christian identity.²³

Conclusion

As these possibilities for further research suggest, in order for us to gain a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between speech patterns and social context even in a single manuscript tradition of a single ancient text, more sociolinguistic questions must be asked than has been possible in this study alone, and if robust conclusions about actual conversations practices or historical language development are to be drawn, even more extensive study will be required. I hope therefore that this project will inspire other researchers to join what needs to be, if larger “why” questions or historical questions are to be answered, a cumulative and collaborative endeavor, and I have also tried in each

²¹ See above, p. 39 n. 6.

²² See above, p. 30.

²³ Cf. Barclay, “Pneumatikos,” 158–59.

chapter to illustrate the potential interpretive benefits of asking individual sociolinguistic questions along the way to larger cumulative results. The findings of the current study do not merely function as an invitation, however, but also as an imperative. The study has shown that social factors including addressee identity relate in a meaningful manner to speech patterns in multiple ancient texts, which strongly suggests that they should be taken into account whenever the significance of expressions is discussed, while differing sociolinguistic relationships between manuscripts and narratives constitute a call for methodological intentionality. It can neither be assumed that referential or theological aspects of an expression are always the primary motivation for their use, nor that the social significance of a particular way of speaking will be the same in every text such that such information can simply be intuited. As researchers and commentators on ancient texts, we need to embrace linguistic complexity and to establish linguistic claims with appropriate evidence.

Appendix A: References to Jesus and to the Christians' god in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts^B)

Appendix A lists third person references to Jesus and the Christians' god in manuscript *Vat. gr.* 1209 of the Acts of the Apostles. The data is organized according to speaker and addressee. Because fairly clear distinctions are made in Acts^B both between Christian and non-Christian characters and between Jews and gentiles,¹ data in this appendix is grouped according to those social variables for ease of reference. For each speaker, references addressed to Christian characters are listed first, followed by those addressed to non-Christian Jews and finally those addressed to non-Christian gentiles. Third person references to the Holy Spirit and forms of address are included in the notes.²

Narrator

"God"

- ὁ θεός, "God" (Acts^B 14:27; 15:4, 12; 16:10; 19:11; 21:19)
- τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ (Acts^B 1:3; 8:12; 19:8), τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (Acts^B 28:23, 31), "the kingdom of God"
- τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ (Acts^B 4:31; 8:14; 11:1; 13:5, 7, 48; 16:32; 18:11), ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ (Acts^B 6:7; 17:13), "the word of God"
- δόξαν θεοῦ, "the glory of God" (Acts^B 7:55)
- ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, "at the right hand of God" (Acts^B 7:55)
- ἄγγελον τοῦ θεοῦ, "an angel of God" (Acts^B 10:3)
- τὴν χάριν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ (Acts^B 11:23), τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ (Acts^B 13:43; 14:26), "the grace of God"
- τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, "the way of God" (Acts^B 18:26)
- αἰνοῦντες τὸν θεόν (Acts^B 2:47), αἰνῶν τὸν θεόν (Acts^B 3:8), αἰνοῦντα τὸν θεόν (Acts^B 3:9), "praising God"
- ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν (Acts^B 4:21; 21:20), ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεόν (Acts^B 11:18), "glorifying God"
- οὐκ ἔδωκεν τὴν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ, "He did not give the glory to God." (Acts^B 12:23)
- μεγαλυνόντων τὸν θεόν, "praising God" (Acts^B 10:46)
- εὐσεβὴς καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν, "devout and fearing God" (Acts^B 10:2)
- τις γυνὴ ὀνόματι Λυδία...σεβομένη τὸν θεόν, "a woman named Lydia, ... a worshipper of God" (Acts^B 16:14); οἰκίαν τινὸς ὀνόματι Τιτίου Ἰούστου σεβομένου τὸν θεόν, "the house of a man named Titius Justus, a worshipper of God" (Acts^B 18:7)
- δεόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ, "praying to God" (Acts^B 10:2)
- ἤραν φωνὴν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, "They raised their voices to God." (Acts^B 4:24)
- πρὸς τὸν θεόν, praying "to God" (Acts^B 12:5)
- ὕμνουν τὸν θεόν, "They were singing hymns to God." (Acts^B 16:25)

¹ See above, p. 43.

² Note that θεός, κύριος, Ἰησοῦς, and χριστός are regularly abbreviated in the manuscript, regardless of speaker or addressee.

- πεπιστευκῶς τῷ θεῷ, “having believed in God” (Acts^B 16:34)
- εὐχαρίστησεν τῷ θεῷ (Acts^B 27:35), εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ (Acts^B 28:15), “giving thanks to God”

“Lord”

- ὁ κύριος (Acts^B 2:47; 9:10, 11, 15; 12:17; 16:14; 18:9; 23:11), τὸν κύριον (Acts^B 9:27), τῷ κυρίῳ (Acts^B 11:24), “the Lord”
- ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου (Acts^B 12:24; 13:49), τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου (Acts^B 8:25; 13:44; 15:35; 19:10), τοῦ κυρίου ὁ λόγος (Acts^B 19:20), “the word of the Lord”
- ἄγγελος κυρίου, “an angel of the Lord” (Acts^B 5:19; 8:26; 12:7, 23)
- τοὺς μαθητὰς τοῦ κυρίου, “the Lord’s disciples” (Acts^B 9:1)
- τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ κυρίου, “the fear of the Lord” (Acts^B 9:31)
- χεὶρ κυρίου, “the Lord’s hand” (Acts^B 11:21)
- τῇ χάριτι τοῦ κυρίου, “the grace of the Lord” (Acts^B 15:40)
- τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, “the way of the Lord” (Acts^B 18:25)
- τῇ διδασκίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου, “the teaching about the Lord” (Acts^B 13:12)
- ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου, “in the name of the Lord” (Acts^B 9:28)
- πιστεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ (Acts^B 5:14), ἐπίστευσεν τῷ κυρίῳ, (Acts^B 18:8), ἐπίστευσαν...ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον (Acts^B 9:42), “believing in the Lord”
- ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον (Acts^B 9:35), ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον (Acts^B 11:21), “turned to the Lord”
- προσμένειν ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ, “remain faithful to the Lord” (Acts^B 11:23)
- λειτουργούντων...τῷ κυρίῳ, “worshipping the Lord” (Acts^B 13:2)
- παρρησιαζόμενοι ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ, “speaking boldly for the Lord” (Acts^B 14:3)
- παρέθεντο αὐτοὺς τῷ κυρίῳ εἰς ὃν πεπιστεύκεισαν, “They entrusted them to the lord in whom they had believed.” (Acts^B 14:23)

“Jesus”

- Ἰησοῦς (Acts^B 1:1), Ἰησοῦν (Acts^B 7:55), τὸν Ἰησοῦν (Acts^B 8:35; 9:20; 17:18), “Jesus”
- ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, “in Jesus” (Acts^B 4:2)
- Μαριὰμ τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, “Mary, the mother of Jesus” (Acts^B 1:14)
- ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ (Acts^B 9:27), ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι [τοῦ] Ἰησοῦ (Acts^B 4:18),³ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (Acts^B 5:40), “in the name of Jesus”
- σὺν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἦσαν, “They were companions of Jesus.” (Acts^B 4:13)
- περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, “concerning Jesus” (Acts^B 18:25; 28:23)

“Christ”

- ἐκήρυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Χριστόν, “He proclaimed the messiah to them.” (Acts^B 8:5)
- τὸν χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν, “that it was necessary for the messiah to suffer” (Acts^B 17:3)

Combined Terms

- τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, “the resurrection of the lord Jesus” (Acts^B 4:33)
- τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, “the name of the lord Jesus” (Acts^B 19:13, 17)
- βεβαπτισμένοι...εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ (Acts^B 8:16), ἐβαπτίσθησαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ (Acts^B 19:5), “baptized in the name of the lord Jesus”
- εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν, “proclaiming the good news about the lord Jesus” (Acts^B 11:20)
- περὶ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “concerning the lord Jesus Christ” (Acts^B 28:31)

³ B* lacks the article.

- τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the name of Jesus Christ” (Acts^B 8:12)
- ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτισθῆναι, “baptized in the name of Jesus Christ” (Acts^B 10:48)
- περὶ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν πίστεως, “about faith in Christ Jesus” (Acts^B 24:24)
- εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, “proclaiming the good news about the messiah, Jesus” (Acts^B 5:42)
- διαμαρτυρόμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, “testifying to the Jews that the messiah was Jesus” (Acts^B 18:5)
- εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, “that Jesus was the messiah” (Acts^B 18:28)
- πνεῦμα κυρίου, “the Lord’s spirit” (Acts^B 8:39)
- τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ, “the spirit of Jesus” (Acts^B 16:7)⁴

Christian Speakers⁵

Christian Groups⁶

- In prayer:⁷
 - ο τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν ὃν ἔχρισας, “your holy servant Jesus, whom you have anointed” (Acts^B 4:27)
 - ο διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγίου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ, “through the name of your holy servant Jesus” (Acts^B 4:30)
- Amongst themselves: ὁ θεός, “God” (Acts^B 11:18)
- To Paul or amongst themselves: τοῦ κυρίου τὸ θέλημα, “the Lord’s will” (Acts^B 21:14)

⁴ The narrator refers to the Holy Spirit on a number of occasions. In addition to Acts^B 8:39 and 16:7 (listed above), there are references to πνεύματος ἁγίου (Acts^B 2:4; 6:5) and τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (Acts^B 10:44; 13:2; 19:6), “the Holy Spirit”; τὸ πνεῦμα, “the Spirit” (Acts^B 2:4; 8:29; 10:19); ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, “the gift of the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 10:45); τῇ παρακλήσει τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, “the comforting of the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 9:31); ἐκπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, “sent out by the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 13:4); κωλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, “prevented by the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 16:6); πλησθεὶς πνεύματος ἁγίου (Acts^B 4:8; 13:9), ἐπλήσθησαν... τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, (Acts^B 4:31), ἐπληροῦντο... πνεύματος ἁγίου (Acts^B 13:52), “filled with the Holy Spirit”; πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου, “full of the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 7:55; 11:24); λάβωσιν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, (Acts^B 8:15), ἐλάβανον πνεῦμα ἅγιον, (Acts^B 8:17), “receive the Holy Spirit”; δίδοται τὸ πνεῦμα, “the Spirit was given” (Acts^B 8:18); διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου, “through the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 1:2), διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, “through the Spirit” (Acts^B 11:28; 21:4); τῷ πνεύματι ᾧ ἐλάλει, “the [S]pirit with which he spoke” (Acts^B 6:10); ἔθετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, “resolved in the [S]pirit” (Acts^B 19:21).

⁵ A Christian character who mentions τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, “the Holy Spirit,” but makes no third person references to Jesus or to the Christian god is Agabus (Acts^B 21:11).

⁶ Addressing Jesus and in prayer, Christian groups use the vocatives κύριε, “Lord” (Acts 1:6, 24; 4:29), and δέσποτα, σὺ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς..., “Master, you who made heaven and earth and the sea and everything in them...” (Acts^B 4:24).

⁷ In prayer, Christians also mention πνεύματος ἁγίου, “the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 4:25).

The Twelve

- To disciples: τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, “the word of God” (Acts^B 6:2)⁸

Peter⁹

- To disciples:¹⁰
 - Ἰησοῦν, “Jesus” (Acts^B 1:16)
 - ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, “the lord Jesus” (Acts^B 1:21)
 - τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου, “the word of the Lord” (Acts^B 11:16)
 - ὁ θεός, “God” (Acts^B 11:17)
 - πιστεύσασιν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, “They believed in the lord Jesus Christ.” (Acts^B 11:17)
 - κωλύσαι τὸν θεόν, “to prevent God” (Acts^B 11:17)
- To himself: ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (Acts^B 12:11)
- To Jerusalem council:¹¹
 - ὁ θεός (Acts^B 15:7), τὸν θεόν (Acts^B 15:10), “God”
 - ὁ καρδιογνώστης θεός, “the heart-knowing god” (Acts^B 15:8)
 - διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, “through the grace of the lord Jesus” (Acts^B 15:11)
- To Pentecost crowd:¹²
 - Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον, ἄνδρα ἀποδεδειγμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς δυνάμεσι καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις οἷς ἐποίησεν δι’ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν..., τοῦτον, “Jesus of Nazareth, a man attested to you by God by deeds of power and wonders and signs which God did through him in your midst..., this man...” (Acts^B 2:22-23)
 - τῇ ὠρισμένῃ βουλῇ καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ, “the set purpose and foreknowledge of God” (Acts^B 2:23)
 - ὁ θεός, “God” (Acts^B 2:24, 30, 32)
 - περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “about the resurrection of the messiah” (Acts^B 2:31)
 - τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν, “this Jesus” (Acts^B 2:32)
 - τῇ δεξιᾷ... τοῦ θεοῦ, “God’s right hand” (Acts^B 2:33)
 - παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, “from the Father” (Acts^B 2:33)
 - κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ χριστὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, “God has made him lord and messiah, this Jesus whom you crucified.” (Acts^B 2:36)

⁸ The Twelve, addressing disciples, also use the term “spirit”: πλήρεις πνεύματος, “full of [S]pirit” (Acts^B 6:3).

⁹ During his visionary encounter, Peter twice uses the vocative κύριε, “Lord” (Acts^B 10:14; 11:8).

¹⁰ To disciples, Peter also mentions τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, “the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 1:16; 10:47; 11:15) and τὸ πνεῦμά, “the Spirit” (Acts^B 11:12).

¹¹ Peter also speaks to the Jerusalem council of τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, “the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 15:8).

¹² To the Pentecost crowd, Peter also mentions τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, “the gift of the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 2:38) and τὴν τε ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, “the promise of the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 2:33).

- ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “in the name of Jesus Christ” (Acts^B 2:38)
- κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, “the Lord, our god” (Acts^B 2:39)
- To Jews in Jerusalem:
 - ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, “the god of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, the god of our fathers” (Acts^B 3:13)
 - τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς μὲν παρεδώκατε καὶ ἡρνήσασθε κατὰ πρόσωπον Πιλάτου, “his servant Jesus whom you handed over and rejected before Pilate” (Acts^B 3:13)
 - τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον, “the holy and righteous one” (Acts^B 3:14)
 - τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς...ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, “the author of life whom God raised from the dead” (Acts^B 3:15)
 - τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ, “his messiah” (Acts^B 3:18)
 - ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου, “from the presence of the Lord” (Acts^B 3:20)
 - τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι ἄχρι..., “the messiah appointed for you, Jesus, who has to remain in heaven until...” (Acts^B 3:20-21)
 - ὁ θεός, “God” (Acts^B 3:18, 21, 25, 26)
 - τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ, “his servant” (Acts^B 3:26)
- To Jewish leaders:
 - ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἐν τούτῳ..., “in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth whom you crucified, whom God raised from the dead, in him...” (Acts^B 4:10)
 - οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λίθος, ὁ ἐξουθνηθεὶς ὑφ’ ὑμῶν τῶν οἰκοδόμων, ὁ γενόμενος εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας, “He is the stone rejected by you builders which has become the cornerstone.” (Acts^B 4:11)
- To Cornelius et al.:¹³
 - ὁ θεός, “God” (Acts^B 10:28, 34, 38)
 - διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος, “through Jesus Christ; he is lord of all” (Acts^B 10:36)
 - Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ, “Jesus from Nazareth” (Acts^B 10:38)
 - τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν, “God raised him.” (Acts^B 10:40)
 - ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, “by God” (Acts^B 10:41)
 - οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, “He is the one appointed by God as judge of the living and the dead.” (Acts^B 10:42)
- To Ananias: τῷ θεῷ, “to God” (Acts^B 5:4).¹⁴
- To Sapphira: τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, “the Lord’s spirit” (Acts^B 5:9)
- To Simon:
 - τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ θεοῦ, “God’s gift” (Acts^B 8:20)
 - ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ, “before God” (Acts^B 8:21)
 - δεήθητι τοῦ κυρίου, “Pray to the Lord.” (Acts^B 8:22)
- To Aeneas: Ἰησοῦς [ὁ] Χριστός, “Jesus [the] Christ” (Acts^B 9:34)¹⁵

¹³ To Cornelius et al., Peter also mentions πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, “the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 10:38).

¹⁴ To Ananias, Peter also mentions τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, “the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 5:3).

- Formula, to lame man: ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου, “in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth” (Acts^B 3:6)

Peter and John

- To Jewish leaders:
 - ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, “before God” (Acts^B 4:19)
 - τοῦ θεοῦ, “God” (Acts^B 4:19)

Peter and the Apostles

- To Jewish leaders:
 - πειθαρχεῖν...θεῷ, “to obey God” (Acts^B 5:29)
 - ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, “the god of our fathers” (Acts^B 5:30)
 - Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς διεχειρίσασθε κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου, “Jesus whom you had killed, hanging him on a tree” (Acts^B 5:30)
 - τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτῆρα ὑψωσεν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ, “God exalted him to his right hand as leader and savior.” (Acts^B 5:31)
 - τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσιν αὐτῷ, “the Holy Spirit God has given to those who obey him” (Acts^B 5:32)

Paul¹⁶

- To Barnabas: τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου, “the word of the Lord” (Acts^B 15:36)
- To Ephesian elders:¹⁷
 - δουλεύων τῷ κυρίῳ, “serving the Lord” (Acts^B 20:19)
 - τὴν εἰς θεὸν μετάνοιαν καὶ πίστιν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν, “repentance toward God and faith in our lord Jesus” (Acts^B 20:21)
 - παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, “from the Lord Jesus” (Acts^B 20:24)
 - τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ, “the good news of God’s grace” (Acts^B 20:24)
 - πᾶσαν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, “the whole purpose of God” (Acts^B 20:27)
 - τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, “the church of God” (Acts^B 20:28)
 - παρατίθεμαι ὑμᾶς τῷ κυρίῳ, “I commend you to the Lord.” (Acts^B 20:32)
 - τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, “the words of the lord Jesus” (Acts^B 20:35)
- To disciples: ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, “for the name of the lord Jesus” (Acts^B 21:13)
- In the Damascus synagogue:
 - οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, “He is God’s son.” (Acts^B 9:20)
 - οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, “He is the messiah.” (Acts^B 9:22)
- To Elymas:
 - τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῦ κυρίου τὰς εὐθείας, “the straight paths of the Lord” (Acts^B 13:10)

¹⁵ The article is not included in B*.

¹⁶ Paul addresses and reports addressing Jesus as κύριε, “Lord” at Acts^B 9:5; 22:8, 10, 19; 26:15.

¹⁷ To Ephesian elders, Paul also mentions being δεδεμένος...τῷ πνεύματι, “bound by the Spirit” (Acts^B 20:22) and τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, “the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 20:23, 28).

- χεὶρ κυρίου, “the Lord’s hand” (Acts^B 13:11)
- To the synagogue in Pisidian Antioch:
 - ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, “Israelites and those who fear God” (Acts^B 13:16)
 - ὁ θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου Ἰσραήλ, “the god of this people Israel” (Acts^B 13:17)
 - ὁ θεός, “God” (Acts^B 13:21, 23, 30, 33)
 - σωτὴρ Ἰησοῦν, “a savior, Jesus” (Acts^B 13:23)
 - οἱ ἐν ὑμῖν φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, “those among you who fear God” (Acts^B 13:26)
 - Ἰησοῦν, “Jesus” (Acts^B 13:33)
 - τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλῇ, “God’s purpose” (Acts^B 13:36)
 - ὃν...ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν, “he whom God raised” (Acts^B 13:37)¹⁸
 - διὰ τοῦτο[υ], “through him” (Acts^B 13:38)¹⁹
 - ἐν τούτῳ, “in him” (Acts^B 13:39)
- To the synagogue in Thessalonica: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν, “The messiah is Jesus whom I proclaim to you.” (Acts^B 17:3)
- To Jews in Ephesus: τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντος, “if God wills” (Acts^B 18:21)
- To John’s disciples without the Holy Spirit in Ephesus: εἰς τὸν ἐρχόμενον μετ’ αὐτὸν ἵνα πιστεύσωσιν, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, “believe in the one coming after him, that is, in Jesus” (Acts^B 19:4)²⁰
- To Jews in Jerusalem:
 - ζηλωτὴς ὑπάρχων τοῦ θεοῦ, “being zealous for God” (Acts^B 22:3)
 - ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (Acts^B 22:10)
- To Jewish leaders: τῷ θεῷ (Acts^B 23:1), ὁ θεός (Acts^B 23:3), “God”
- To Agrippa:
 - ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, “by God” (Acts^B 26:6)
 - ὁ θεός, “God” (Acts^B 26:8)
 - πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου, “against the name of Jesus of Nazareth” (Acts^B 26:9)
 - ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (Acts^B 26:15)
 - ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, “turn to God” (Acts^B 26:20)
 - ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, “from God” (Acts^B 26:22)
 - ὁ χριστός, “the messiah” (Acts^B 26:23)
 - εὐξαίμην...τῷ θεῷ, “I pray to God” (Acts^B 26:29)
- To Roman Jews: τοῦτο τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, “this salvation of God” (Acts^B 28:28)²¹
- To Athenians:

¹⁸ This phrase seems to function substantively.

¹⁹ B* has the neuter “through this.”

²⁰ To John’s disciples, Paul also mentions πνεῦμα ἅγιον, “the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 19:2).

²¹ To Roman Jews, Paul also mentions τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, “the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 28:25).

- ὁ...ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε, τοῦτο ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν, “What you worship as unknown, I proclaim to you.” (Acts^B 17:23)
- ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗτος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπάρχων κύριος, “the god who made the world and everything in it, who is lord of heaven and earth” (Acts^B 17:24)
- ζητεῖν τὸν θεόν, “to seek God” (Acts^B 17:27)
- γένος...τοῦ θεοῦ, “God’s offspring” (Acts^B 17:29)
- ὁ θεός, “God” (Acts^B 17:30)
- ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὥρισεν, “by a man whom he has appointed” (Acts^B 17:31)
- To Felix:
 - λατρεύω τῷ πατρὶ φθ θεῷ, “I worship [my] ancestral god.” (Acts^B 24:14)
 - ἐλπίδα ἔχων εἰς τὸν θεόν, “having a hope in God” (Acts^B 24:15)
 - πρὸς τὸν θεόν, “toward God” (Acts^B 24:16)
- To shipmates:
 - τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗ εἰμι ὧ καὶ λατρεύω, ἄγγελος, “an angel of the god to whom I belong and whom I worship” (Acts^B 27:23)
 - πιστεύω...τῷ θεῷ, “I trust God.” (Acts^B 27:25)
- Formula for exorcism: ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “in the name of Jesus Christ” (Acts^B 16:18)

Paul and Barnabas

- To disciples in Antioch: τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, “the kingdom of God” (Acts^B 14:22)
- To Jews in Pisidian Antioch:
 - τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, “the word of God” (Acts^B 13:46)
 - ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (Acts^B 13:47)
- To people of Lystra: ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ θεὸν ζῶντα, ὃς ἐποίησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, “to turn to the living god, who made heaven and earth and the sea and everything in them” (Acts^B 14:15)

Paul and Silas

- To jailor: πίστευσον ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν, “Believe in the lord Jesus.” (Acts^B 16:31)

Stephen²²

- To Jewish leaders:²³
 - ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης, “the god of glory” (Acts^B 7:2)
 - ὁ θεός (Acts^B 7:6, 7, 9, 17, 25, 35, 42, 45), τῷ θεῷ, (Acts^B 7:20), “God”
 - φωνὴ κυρίου, “the Lord’s voice” (Acts^B 7:31)
 - ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (Acts^B 7:33)
 - ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, “before God” (Acts^B 7:46)

²² Stephen uses the vocatives κύριε Ἰησοῦ, “Lord Jesus” (Acts^B 7:59) and κύριε, “Lord” (Acts^B 7:60).

²³ To Jewish leaders, Stephen also mentions τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, “the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 7:51).

- ο ὕψιστος, “the Most High” (Acts^B 7:48)
 - περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου, οὗ νῦν ὑμεῖς προδότες καὶ φονεῖς ἐγένεσθε, “about the coming of the righteous one, whose betrayers and murderers you have now become” (Acts^B 7:52)
- Uncertain addressees: τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐστῶτα τοῦ θεοῦ, “the Son of Man standing at God’s right hand” (Acts^B 7:56)

Jerusalem Council

- To gentile believers: ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “for the name of our lord Jesus Christ” (Acts^B 15:26)²⁴

James

- To Jerusalem council:
 - ο θεός, “God” (Acts^B 15:14)
 - ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, “turn to God” (Acts^B 15:19)

Ananias²⁵

- To Paul:
 - ο κύριος ἀπέσταλκέν με, Ἰησοῦς ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἣ ἦρχου, ὥπως ἀναβλέψῃς καὶ πλησθῇς πνεύματος ἁγίου, “The Lord has sent me, Jesus who appeared to you on the road by which you came, so that you may regain your sight and be filled with the Holy Spirit.” (Acts^B 9:17)
 - ο θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, “the god of our fathers” (Acts^B 22:14)²⁶
 - τὸν δίκαιον, “the righteous one” (Acts^B 22:14)²⁷

Lydia

- To Paul et al.: πιστὴν τῷ κυρίῳ εἶναι, “to be faithful to the Lord” (Acts^B 16:15)

Simon

- To Peter: πρὸς τὸν κύριον, “to the Lord” (Acts^B 8:24)²⁸

Non-Christian Jewish Speakers²⁹

Pentecost Crowd

- Amongst themselves: τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ, “the wonders of God” (Acts^B 2:11)

²⁴ To gentile believers, the Jerusalem council also mentions τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, “the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 15:28).

²⁵ Addressing Jesus, Ananias twice uses the vocative κύριε, “Lord” (Acts^B 9:10, 13).

²⁶ As reported by Paul.

²⁷ As reported by Paul.

²⁸ To Peter and John, Simon also mentions πνεῦμα ἅγιον, “the Holy Spirit” (Acts^B 8:19).

²⁹ John’s disciples speak to Paul of πνεῦμα ἅγιον, “[a] holy spirit” (Acts^B 19:2).

Gamaliel

- To Jewish leaders: ἐκ θεοῦ, “from God” (Acts^B 5:39)

High Priest

- To Peter and the apostles: τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου, “the blood of this man” (Acts^B 5:28)

Witnesses in Jerusalem

- Uncertain addressees:
 - ο τὸν θεόν, “God” (Acts^B 6:11)
 - ο Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος οὗτος, “this Jesus of Nazareth” (Acts^B 6:14)

Jews

- To Gallio: σέβεσθαι τὸν θεόν, “to worship God” (Acts^B 18:13)
- To Paul: τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ θεοῦ, “God’s high priest” (Acts^B 23:4)

Jewish Exorcists

- To evil spirit: τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν Παῦλος κηρύσσει, “Jesus whom Paul proclaims” (Acts^B 19:13)

Non-Christian Gentile Speakers

Cornelius’ Envoys

- To Peter: φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν, “fearing God” (Acts^B 10:22)

Cornelius

- To Peter:
 - ο ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, “before God” (Acts^B 10:33)
 - ο ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, “by the Lord” (Acts^B 10:33)

Slave Girl

- Announcement: δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, “slaves of the most high god” (Acts^B 16:17)

Festus

- To Agrippa: περί τινος Ἰησοῦ τεθνηκότος ὃν ἔφασκεν ὁ Παῦλος ζῆν, “about a certain Jesus who has died, whom Paul was saying is alive” (Acts^B 25:19)

Other Speakers

Jews and/or Mob of Thessalonica

- To city leaders: βασιλέα ἕτερον λέγοντες εἶναι Ἰησοῦν, “saying that there is another king, Jesus” (Acts^B 17:7)

Samaritans

- Amongst themselves: ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη, “the ‘Great Power’ of God” (Acts^B 8:10)

Jesus

- To disciples:³⁰
 - τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἣν ἠκούσατέ μου, “the promise of the Father which you have heard about from me” (Acts^B 1:4)
 - ὁ πατήρ, “the Father” (Acts^B 1:7)
- To Paul: ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, “to God” (Acts^B 26:18)³¹

Voice

- To Peter: ὁ θεός, “God” (Acts^B 10:15; 11:9³²)

Angels

- To disciples: οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἀφ’ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, “this Jesus who has been taken up from you into heaven” (Acts^B 1:11)
- To Cornelius:
 - ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ, “before God” (Acts^B 10:4)
 - ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, “before God” (Acts^B 10:31)³³
- To Paul: ὁ θεός, “God” (Acts^B 27:24)³⁴

Evil Spirit

- To Jewish exorcists: τὸν Ἰησοῦν, “Jesus” (Acts^B 19:15)

³⁰ Jesus also speaks to disciples as follows: ἐν πνεύματι βαπτισθήσεσθε ἁγίῳ (Acts^B 1:5), βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (Acts^B 11:16),³⁰ “baptized in the Holy Spirit”; ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς, “when the Holy Spirit comes upon you” (Acts^B 1:8).

³¹ As reported by Paul. Speaking in first person, Jesus tells or is reported as telling Paul, ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς ὃν σὺ διώκεις, “I am Jesus whom you are persecuting” (Acts^B 9:5, 26:15), and ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος, ὃν σὺ διώκεις, “I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom you are persecuting” (Acts^B 22:8).

³² As reported by Peter. Both instances could be understood as first-person speech by God.

³³ As reported by Cornelius.

³⁴ As reported by Paul.

Citations³⁵

- ὁ θεός, “God” (Acts^B 2:17; 7:37)
- κύριος ὁ θεός, “the Lord God” (Acts^B 3:22)
- τὸν κύριον (Acts^B 2:25; 15:17), κύριος (Acts^B 7:49; 15:17), “the Lord”
- εἶπεν [ὁ] κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου, “the Lord said to my lord” (Acts^B 2:34)³⁶
- ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ, “the great and glorious day of the Lord” (Acts^B 2:20)
- τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, “the name of the Lord” (Acts^B 2:21)
- κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, “against the Lord and against his messiah” (Acts^B 4:26)

³⁵ In the first person, God is cited as saying, ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου, ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, “I am the god of your fathers, the god of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob” (Acts^B 7:32). A citation also includes a reference to τοῦ πνεύματός μου, “my spirit” (Acts^B 2:18).

³⁶ B* lacks the article; it is included in B².

Appendix B: Plural Forms of Address in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts^B)

Appendix B lists plural forms of address in manuscript *Vat. gr.* 1209 of the Acts of the Apostles. The data is organized according to speaker and addressees. Data for Christian speakers is listed first, followed by data for other speakers.

Christian Speakers

Peter

- To disciples: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (Acts^B 1:16)
- To Jerusalem council: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (Acts^B 15:7)
- To Pentecost crowd:
 - ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, “people of Israel” (Acts^B 2:22)
 - ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (Acts^B 2:29)
- To Jews in Jerusalem:
 - ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, “people of Israel” (Acts^B 3:12)
 - ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (Acts^B 3:17)
- To Jewish leaders: ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, “rulers of the people and elders” (Acts^B 4:8)

The Twelve

- To disciples: ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (Acts^B 6:3)

Stephen

- To Jewish leaders: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, “brothers and fathers” (Acts^B 7:2)

Paul

- To the synagogue in Pisidian Antioch:
 - ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, “people of Israel and those who fear God” (Acts^B 13:16)
 - ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, υἱοὶ γένους Ἀβραάμ οἱ ἐν ὑμῖν φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, “brothers, sons of the race of Abraham, those among you who fear God” (Acts^B 13:26)
 - ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (Acts^B 13:38)
 - To Jews in Jerusalem: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, “brothers and fathers” (Acts^B 22:1)
- To Jewish leaders:
 - ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (Acts^B 23:1, 6)
 - ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (Acts^B 23:5)

- To Roman Jews: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (Acts^B 28:17)
- To Athenians: ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, “Athenians” (Acts^B 17:22)
- To shipmates: (ὧ) ἄνδρες, “gentlemen” (Acts^B 27:10, 21, 25)

Paul and Barnabas

- To people of Lystra: ἄνδρες, “gentlemen” (Acts^B 14:15)

James

- To Jerusalem council: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (Acts^B 15:13)

Other Speakers

Pentecost Crowd

- To Peter and the apostles: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (Acts^B 2:37)

Gamaliel

- To Jewish leaders: ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, “people of Israel” (Acts^B 5:35)

Synagogue Leaders in Pisidian Antioch

- To Paul and companions: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (Acts^B 13:15)

Jews in the Temple

- Amongst themselves: ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, “people of Israel” (Acts^B 21:28)

Demetrius

- To artisans: ἄνδρες, “gentlemen” (Acts^B 19:25)

Jailor

- To Paul and Silas: κύριοι, “sirs” (Acts^B 16:30)

Town Clerk

- To Ephesians: ἄνδρες Ἐφεσίοι, “Ephesians” (Acts^B 19:35)

Gallio

- To Paul’s accusers: ὧ Ἰουδαῖοι, “Jews” (Acts^B 18:14)

Festus

- To Agrippa and assembled group: Ἀγρίππα βασιλεῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ συμπαρόντες ἡμῖν ἄνδρες, “King Agrippa and all who are present with us” (Acts^B 25:24)

Angel

- To disciples: ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι, “Galileans” (Acts^B 1:11)

Moses (Citation by Stephen)

- To Israelite men: ἄνδρες, “guys” (Acts^B 7:26)

Appendix C: References to Jesus/God in the Acts of John (AJ^{RZ})

Appendix C lists third person references and forms of address for Jesus/God in manuscripts *Patmos* 188 (R) and *Mezzujuso* 2 (Z) of the Acts of John. The data is organized according to speaker and addressee. Forms of address are listed separately at the end of the appendix.

Third Person References to Jesus/God

Narrator

- τῇ γνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, “the knowledge of our god” (AJ^{RZ} 26.11)
- δυνάμει θεοῦ, “the power of God” (AJ^{RZ} 36.14)
- τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ, “the grace of God” (AJ^{RZ} 52.11)
- τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητος, “the goodness of God” (AJ^{RZ} 54.14)
- τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ, “the servant of God” (AJ^{RZ} 110.7)
- τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, “the word of God” (AJ^{RZ} 111.6)
- τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μέγεθος, “the majesty of God” (AJ^{RZ} 111.8)
- δοξάζοντος τὸν θεόν (AJ^{RZ} 80.6), δοξάζοντας τὸν θεόν (AJ^{RZ} 83.7), “glorifying God”
- εἶπε πρὸς κύριον (AJ^{RZ} 22.3–4), εἶπε πρὸς τὸν κύριον (AJ^{RZ} 43.2; 48.7–8), “he said to the Lord”
- ἀγαλλιώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ, “rejoicing in the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 106.2–3)
- ὁ τοῦ κυρίου δοῦλος Ἰωάννης, “John, the servant of the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 51.5–6)
- τῆς τοῦ κυρίου εὐχαριστίας, “the eucharist of the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 86.2)
- τῆς τοῦ κυρίου χάριτος, “the grace of the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 110.2)
- ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος, “the apostle of Christ” (AJ^{RZ} 26.10)
- πιστεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν, “having believed in the lord Jesus” (AJ^{RZ} 47.14)
- τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the power of our lord Jesus Christ” (at AJ 115.3)

John

With addressees who are present living humans

- To travelling companions:
 - τοῦ κυρίου οἱ δοῦλοι, “the servants of the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 37.7)
 - φωνὴν θεοῦ, “the voice of God” (AJ^{RZ} 61.15)
- To Ephesian “brothers” at farewell: Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, “Christ Jesus” (AJ^{RZ} 58.10)
- To “brothers” at Drusiana’s tomb:
 - τὴν ὀνειδιζομένην διὰ θεόν, “one reproached on account of God” (AJ^{RZ} 69.18–19)
 - ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 73.14)

- To “brothers” in the Metastasis:
 - συμμετοχοὶ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου βασιλείας, “partners in the Lord’s kingdom” (AJ^{RZ} 106.5)
 - τὸν θεόν, “God” (AJ^{RZ} 106.5)
 - αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος, “the Lord himself” (AJ^{RZ} 106.13)
 - ὁ ἀγαθὸς θεός, ὁ εὐσπλαγχνος, ὁ ἐλεήμων, ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ δίκαιος, ὁ καθαρός, ὁ ἀμίαντος, ὁ μόνος, ὁ ἀμετάβολος, ὁ ἄδολος, ὁ ἀόργητος, ὁ πάσης λεγομένης καὶ νοουμένης ἡμῖν προσηγορίας ἀνώτερος καὶ ὑψηλότερος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, “The good god, the compassionate, the merciful, the holy, the just, the pure, the undefiled, the only, the immutable, the guileless, the patient, Jesus Christ who is higher and more exalted than every name that we may utter or conceive” (AJ^{RZ} 107.1–5)
 - τὸ προκείμενόν μοι ἔργον ἤδη τελειούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, “the work that is set before me, already being completed by the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 107.11)
 - τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν τὰ ἐνέχυρα, “the pledges of our god” (AJ^{RZ} 107.13)
- To Cleopatra:
 - πιστεύσασα ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ μου, ὅστις δι’ ἐμοῦ ζῶντα αὐτὸν χαρίσεται, “having believed in my god, who will grant him to you alive through me” (AJ^{RZ} 23.16–17)
 - τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ μου δυνάμει, “by the power of my god” (AJ^{RZ} 23.19)
- To Lycomedes:
 - τῷ θεωμένῳ σοι, “the one who appeared to you” (AJ^{RZ} 21.4–5)
 - ἔπευξαι τῷ θεῷ ὃν εἶδες φανεροῦντά σε δι’ ὄνειράτων, “Pray to the god whom you saw revealing [himself to you] in dreams.” (AJ^{RZ} 21.6–7)¹
 - δεήθητι τοῦ κυρίου, “Ask the Lord.” (AJ^{RZ} 21.9)
 - Kissing the feet τοῦ θεοῦ οὗ δυνάμει ἀνέστητε ἀμφότεροι, “of the god by whose power you have both risen” (AJ^{RZ} 24.23)
 - ὁ ἐαυτῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς ζωγραφῶν Ἰησοῦς, ὁ τὰς μορφὰς καὶ τὰ εἶδη καὶ τὰ σχήματα καὶ τὰς διαθέσεις καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν ἐπιστάμενος, “Jesus who paints us all for himself, who knows the shapes, forms, figures, dispositions, and images of our souls” (AJ^{RZ} 29.2–4)
 - πίστις ἢ εἰς θεόν, “faith in God” (AJ^{RZ} 29.5–6)
 - τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, “our lord Jesus Christ” (AJ^{RZ} 29.17)
- To Ephesians in the theatre episode:
 - τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, “the power of God” (AJ^{RZ} 31.3–4)
 - ὃν κηρύσσω Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, “Jesus Christ whom I proclaim” (AJ^{RZ} 33.8)
- To Ephesians in the Artemis temple episode:
 - ἄνδρες δοῦλοι τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ, “men who are servants of the only God” (AJ^{RZ} 38.4–5)
 - τὸν ἴδιόν μου θεόν, “my own god” (AJ^{RZ} 39.14)
 - διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μου, “by my god” (AJ^{RZ} 40.7)
 - παρακαλέσας μου τὸν θεόν, “entreating my god” (AJ^{RZ} 40.8–9)
 - εὔξασθε τῷ θεῷ μου, “Pray to my god.” (AJ^{RZ} 43.5)
 - οἱ ἐκεῖ δοῦλοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the servants of Christ there” (AJ^{RZ} 45.3–4)

¹ RZ σε; emended to με by Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*.

- εὐχόμενός μου τῷ θεῷ, “praying to my god” (AJ^{RZ} 45.5–6)
- πίστει τῇ εἰς θεόν, “faith in God” (AJ^{RZ} 46.9)
- John reports the thoughts of the priest’s relative, including, πρὸς κύριον, “to the Lord.” (AJ^{RZ} 46.14)
- To the priest’s relative: ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὅστις τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ δείξει ἐν τῷ νεκρῷ σου συγγενεῖ (ὁ) ἀναστήσας αὐτόν, “Our lord is Jesus Christ who will show his power in your dead relative by raising him.” (AJ^{RZ} 46.21–23)²
- To the parricide: τὸν θεόν, “God” (AJ^{RZ} 54.11)
- To Andronicus: ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 72.8–9)
- To Callimachus:
 - δόξα τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν...τῷ ἐλεήσαντί σε καὶ καταξιώσαντί με δοξάσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ καταξιώσαντι καὶ σὲ μεθόδῳ τῆς παρὰ σοῦ ἐκείνης σου μανίας καὶ μέθης μεταστῆναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ ἀνακαίνισιν βίου καλέσαντι, “Glory be to our god who has had mercy on you, who has considered me worthy to glorify his power and has also considered you worthy to depart from your madness and intoxication by an arrangement, and who has called you to [his] own rest and renewal of life.” (AJ^{RZ} 78.2–6)
 - ὁ θεός, “God” (AJ^{RZ} 81.10)

With addressees who are not present living humans

- Exclamations:
 - ζῇ κύριος μου Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, “as my lord Jesus Christ lives” (AJ^{RZ} 28.5–6)
 - ἀσθένεια ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, “weakness towards God” (AJ^{RZ} 30.10–11)
 - Ἰησοῦς, “Jesus” (AJ^{RZ} 30.12)
- To stricken Cleopatra: ὃν ἐφοβήθη πᾶς ἄρχων καὶ πᾶσα κτίσις, δύναμις, ἄβυσσός τε καὶ σκότος ἅπαν καὶ θάνατος ἀγέλαστος καὶ οὐρανῶν ὕψωμα καὶ ᾗδου κυκλώματα καὶ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις καὶ πηρῶν ὄψις καὶ τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος ἅπαντα ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ὑπερηφανία, “the one whom every ruler fears, and every creature, power, abyss and all darkness, and grave death and the height of heaven and the circles of Hades and the resurrection of the dead and the sight of the blind and the whole power of the ruler of the world and the pride of the prince” (AJ^{RZ} 23.2–6)
- To the murdered father:
 - μου ὁ κύριος, “my lord” (AJ^{RZ} 52.2)
 - δὸς...δόξαν τῷ θεῷ, “Give glory to God.” (AJ^{RZ} 52.3–4)
- To Satan and/or the absent Fortunatus:³
 - τῶν ἐλπίζόντων πρὸς κύριον, “those who hope in the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 84.10–11)
 - θεόν, “God” (AJ^{RZ} 84.14)
 - ἀνοσιώτατε καὶ θεοῦ ἐχθρὲ Σατανᾶ, “most unholy Satan, enemy of God” (AJ^{RZ} 84.18)
 - Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, “Jesus Christ, our god” (AJ^{RZ} 84.19)

² R includes the article before ἀναστήσας.

³ On the question of whether John is addressing Satan or Fortunatus, see above, p. 122.

- To the snake: τοῦ μέλλοντος Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν δουλεύειν, “the one who is going to serve Jesus Christ” (AJ^{RZ} 75.2–3)
- To bedbugs: τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ, “the servants of God” (AJ^{RZ} 60.12–13)
- Resuscitation formulae:
 - In prayer, John anticipates resuscitating Cleopatra ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “in the name of Jesus Christ.” (AJ^{RZ} 22.20)
 - John instructs Cleopatra to raise Lycomedes with the words, ἀναστὰς δόξασον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ὄνομα, “Arise and glorify the name of God.” (AJ^{RZ} 24.18)
 - John instructs the priest’s relative to raise him with the words, λέγει σοι ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλος Ἰωάννης· Ἀνάστα, “John, the servant of God, says to you, ‘Arise.’” (AJ^{RZ} 47.6–7)

In prayer

- In prayer, John anticipates resuscitating Cleopatra ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “in the name of Jesus Christ.” (AJ^{RZ} 22.20)

Lycomedes

- To John:
 - ὁ θεὸς ὃν κηρύσσεις, “the god whom you proclaim” (AJ^{RZ} 19.4)
 - δόξασόν σου τὸν θεόν, “Glorify your god” (AJ^{RZ} 19.6)
 - δοῦλε τοῦ φανερώσαντός μοι θεοῦ σαυτὸν [sic], “servant of the god who revealed you to me” (AJ^{RZ} 19.13–14)⁴
 - οὗ ὀνόματι ἤγειρας ἡμᾶς θεοῦ, “by the god in whose name you raised us” (AJ^{RZ} 25.2)
 - ἐλπίς...ἐν τῷ θεῷ σου, “hope in your god” (AJ^{RZ} 25.6)
 - ὁ θεὸς μὲν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐγείρας με ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου... εἰ δὲ γε καὶ μετὰ τὸν θεὸν ἐκεῖνον τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπους θεοὺς δεῖ καλεῖσθαι..., “God is that one who has raised me from death...But if after that god those people who are our benefactors must also be called gods...” (AJ^{RZ} 27.14–16)

Cleobius, Aristodemus, and Damonius

- To John: ὅπως ἀσκανδάλιστοι μείνωσι πρὸς τὸν κύριον, “so that they may remain free from stumbling before the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 25.10)

Aristarchus

- Uncertain addressees: τὸ μαγικὸν ἐκεῖνο...ὄνομα ὃ ἀκήκοα αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, “that magic name...that I have heard him pronounce” (AJ^{RZ} 31.11–12)

John’s Travelling Companions

- To John: τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ, “God’s mighty works” (AJ^{RZ} 37.3)

⁴ R μοι, Z με; RZ σαυτὸν, emended to σὲ αὐτόν by Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*.

Ephesians

- Exclamations:
 - εἷς θεὸς Ἰωάννου, εἷς θεὸς ὁ ἐλεῶν ἡμᾶς, ὅτι σὺ μόνος θεός... ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ θεός, “John’s god is one; one is the god who has mercy on us, since you alone are god... Have mercy on us, God.” (AJ^{RZ} 42.7–9)
 - τὸν Ἰωάννου θεὸν μόνον οἶδαμεν, ὃν καὶ λοιπὸν προσκυνοῦμεν, “We know only John’s god, and from now on we worship only him.” (AJ^{RZ} 44.2–3)
- To John:
 - πρὸς τὸν θεόν σου, “in your god” (AJ^{RZ} 44.8)
 - τοὺς θεοὺς ἡμῶν, “our gods” (AJ^{RZ} 44.9)

Murdered Father

- To John: ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, “man of the living god” (AJ^{RZ} 52.7–8)

Parricide

- To adulterous partner: ὁ θεός, “God” (AJ^{RZ} 53.6)

Delegates from Smyrna

- To John:
 - ὃν κηρύσσεις θεόν, “the god whom you proclaim” (AJ^{RZ} 55.3)
 - κῆρυξ θεοῦ τοιούτου, “herald of such a god” (AJ^{RZ} 55.3–4)
 - σου τὸν θεόν, “your god” (AJ^{RZ} 55.6)

Andronicus

- To John:
 - τῆς εἰς θεόν μου πίστεως, “my faith in God” (AJ^{RZ} 65.6–7)
 - μακάριε δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰωάννη, “John, blessed servant of God” (AJ^{RZ} 74.3–4)
 - ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 79.6)
 - AJ 74.16–17? See note.

Drusiana

- Drusiana commands the dead Fortunatus to rise ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “in the name of our lord Jesus Christ.” (AJ^{RZ} 83.2–3)

Callimachus

- To John:
 - δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ, “servant of God” (AJ^{RZ} 76.21)
 - θεοῦ ἄγγελον, “an angel of God” (AJ^{RZ} 76.22)
 - ἀληθὴς θεός, “a true god” (AJ^{RZ} 76.23)
 - τῷ θεῷ σου, “your god” (AJ^{RZ} 76.25–26)
 - ἄνθρωπος θέλω γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ Χριστὸν ἐλπίζόντων, “I want to become one of those people who hope in Christ.” (AJ^{RZ} 76.35–36)
- To Drusiana: ὁ θεός, “God” (AJ^{RZ} 81.7)

Heavenly Voice

- Το John: δόξαν τῷ κυρίῳ σου διδόναι, “to give glory to your lord” (AJ^{RZ} 18.8-9)

Forms of Address for Jesus/God

John

- κύριε, “Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 18.12; 21.19, 20; 48.8; 51.12; 85.6; 109.12, 14)
- Χριστέ, “Christ” (AJ^{RZ} 22.5, 11)
- ἰατρὲ δωρεὰν ἰωμένω, “doctor who heals for free” (AJ^{RZ} 22.5-6)
- Ἰησοῦ, “Jesus” (AJ^{RZ} 22.7; 109.3 [This is for sure a vocative, right?])
- ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν τῶν ὅλων δεσπότην, “to you, the master of all” (AJ^{RZ} 22.8)
- βασιλεῦ, “king” (AJ^{RZ} 22.12)
- κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, “lord Jesus Christ” (AJ^{RZ} 24.8; 77.3; 85.7; 113.22; 115.2)
- ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὑπὲρ πάντων λεγομένων θεῶν ὑπάρχων θεός, ὁ μέχρι σήμερον ἐν τῇ Ἐφεσίων πόλει ἀθετούμενος· ὁ ὑπερβαλὼν⁵ μου τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ὃν οὐδέποτε ἐν νῶ ἔχον· ὁ πᾶσαν θεοσέβειαν ἐλέγξας διὰ τῆς σῆς ἐπιστροφῆς· οὗ ὀνόματι πᾶν εἴδωλον φεύγει καὶ πᾶς δαίμων δύναμις τε καὶ πᾶσα ἀκάθαρτος⁶

“God, you who are god above all those called gods; despised until today in the city of Ephesus; who put it into my mind to come to this place, which I had never thought of; who have disgraced every cult through conversion to you; at whose name every idol flees, and every demon and unclean power” (AJ^{RZ} 41.1-7)

- Ἰησοῦ μου ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας μόνος θεός, “my Jesus, the only god of truth” (AJ^{RZ} 43.2-3)
- ὁ ἐμφάνισας μοι σήμερον στείλασθαι εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ὁ ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τοῦτο ἤμελλε γίνεσθαι, ὃν μηδὲ λαθεῖν δύναται τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πράξεων, ὅπως ἂν θεραπείαν καὶ ἴασιν παρεχόμενός μοι θελήματι τῷ σῷ

“you who showed me today that I should come to this place; who knew that this would happen; from whom nothing done in life can be hidden; who grants me the ability to heal and cure by your will” (AJ^{RZ} 51.6-10)

- ὁ θεὸς οὗ τὸ θέλημα τελειοῦται, ὁ ὑπακούων ἡμῶν πάντοτε, “God whose will is accomplished, who always hears us” (AJ^{RZ} 75.3-6)
- ὁ καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν οἶκον φυλάξας ἀνύβριστον, ὁ τοῦ καθαιμάξαντος ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπου λυτρωτῆς καὶ τοῦ τὰ φθειρόμενα σώματα σωφρονίζων· ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐλεήσας καὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀμελήσαντα ἄνθρωπον

“you who have kept even the grave from outrage; redeemer of the one who had stained himself with blood; you who correct the one who [wanted to defile] perishable bodies; father who has mercy and compassion toward the heedless” (AJ^{RZ} 77.8-16)

⁵ Thus R; Z has ὑπερβαλλών.

⁶ Z + φύσις; R omits.

- ἅγιε Ἰησοῦ, “holy Jesus” (AJ^{RZ} 77.18)
- τὸν μόνον θεόν σε ὄντα ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν ὑπερμεγέθη, τὸν ἄφραστον, τὸν ἀκατάληπτον· ᾧ πᾶσα δύναμις ἀρχοντικὴ ὑποτέτακται· ᾧ πᾶσα ἐξουσία ἐκκλινεν· ᾧ πᾶσα ἀλαζονεία προσπεσοῦσα ἡσυχάζει· ὃν δαίμονες ἀκούοντες φρίττουσιν· ὃν ἡ κτίσις ὅλη καταμαθοῦσα μετριάξει.

“I call upon you who are the only god, immensely great, inexpressible, who cannot be overcome, to whom every worldly power is subject, to whom every authority bows, before whom every pretension prostrates itself and is silent, whom the demons hear and tremble, whom the whole creation contemplates and keeps its bounds.” (AJ^{RZ} 79.8–14)
- δοξάζομέν σε τὸν παρ’ ὀφθαλμοῖς δείξαντα ἡμῖν ἃ εἶδομεν, “We glorify you who have shown before our eyes what we have seen.” (AJ^{RZ} 85.4)
- εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι τῷ τὴν ἀπαραίτητον ἡμῖν δεδωκότι ταύτην ὅτι σὺ μόνος καὶ νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ, “We give thanks to you, who have given us this sure [faith?] that you are the only one, now and always.” (AJ^{RZ} 85.9–11)
- ἅγιε, “holy one” (AJ^{RZ} 85.12)
- ὁ τὸν στέφανον τοῦτον πλέξας τῇ σῇ πλοκῇ Ἰησοῦ, ὁ τὰ πολλὰ ἄνθη εἰς τὸ διάπνευστόν σου ἄνθος συναρμόσας, ὁ ἐγκατασπεύρας τοὺς λόγους τούτους· ὁ μόνος κηδόμενος τῶν σῶν δούλων καὶ ἱατρὸς δωρεὰν αἰτούμενος· ὁ μόνος εὐεργέτης καὶ ἀνυπερήφανος, ὁ μόνος ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλόανθρωπος, ὁ μόνος σωτὴρ καὶ δίκαιος, ὁ αἰεὶ ὢν καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ὢν καὶ πανταχοῦ παρὼν καὶ τὰ πάντα περιέχων καὶ πληρῶν τὰ πάντα Χριστὲ Ἰησοῦ θεὲ κύριε,..., ὁ ἐπιστάμενος ἀκριβῶς τοῦ πανταχῇ ἡμῶν ἀντιδίκου τὰς τέχνας τὰς τε ἐπιτηρείας πάσας ὥς καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλεύει

“Jesus, you who have woven this crown for your plait; who have arranged these many flowers into your unwilting flower; who have sown these words; the only one who is concerned for his servants and when asked, heals for free; the only benefactor who is not arrogant; the only one who is merciful and generous; the only just savior; the one who always is, in everything and everywhere, and who contains all things and fills all things; Christ Jesus, God, Lord; the one who accurately understands the devices of our adversary and all the abuse that he plots against us everywhere” (AJ^{RZ} 108.1–12)⁷
- ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀποστολὴν ἐθνῶν· ὁ πέμψας εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην θεός, ὁ δείξας ἑαυτὸν διὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν σου· ὁ διὰ πάσης φύσεως ἑαυτὴν γνωρίσας τὴν ἀγαθότητά σου· καὶ μέχρι ζώων ἑαυτὸν κηρύξας· ὁ τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἀγριωθεῖσαν ψυχὴν ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσυχον ποιήσας· ὁ νεκρουμένην αὐτὴν ἐν τάφῳ ὀφθείς· ὁ βυθιζομένην αὐτὴν εἰς ἀνομίαν νόμος [Z: μόνος] φανείς· ὁ νενικημένην αὐτὴν ἥδη ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἐμφανισθείς· ὁ νικήσας τὸν ἀντίδικον αὐτῆς ἐπὶ σὲ καταφυγούσης· ὁ δοὺς αὐτὴν τὴν σὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἀνεγείρας τῶν ἐν ᾧ δουραγμάτων· ὁ μὴ ἐάσας αὐτὴν ἐν σώματι πολιτεύεσθαι· ὁ δείξας αὐτὴν τὸν ἴδιον ἐχθρόν· ὁ τὴν ἐπὶ σὲ γνῶσιν καθαρὰν πεποιημένος θεὲ κύριε Ἰησοῦ· ὁ τῶν ὑπερουρανίων πατήρ· ὁ τῶν ἐπουρανίων θεός· ὁ τῶν αἰθερίων νόμος· ὁ τῶν ἐπιγείων φύλαξ καὶ τῶν ὑπογείων [Z: καταχθονίων] φόβος...

⁷ Thus R; Z has Χριστὲ Ἰησοῦ θεὲ καὶ κύριε, “Christ Jesus, god and lord.”

ὁ καὶ με φυλάξας μέχρι τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας ἑαυτὸν καθαρὸν καὶ ἀθιγῇ μίξεως γυναικός· εἰς
ὃ θέλοντί με ἐν νεότητι γῆμαι ἐπιφανείς καὶ εἰρηκώς· Χρῆζω σοι Ἰωάννη· ὁ ἤδη
μέλλοντί με γῆμαι νόσῳ σωματικῇ οἰκονομήσας περιπεσεῖν· ὁ τρίτον βουλευθέντα με
τοῦτο πράξαι ἐμποδίσας, ἔπειτα δὲ ὥρᾳ τρίτῃ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν θαλάσῃ εἰρηκώς μοι·
Ἰωάννη, εἰ μὴ ἦς ἐμός, ἴασα [Ζ: ἡάσαι] ἂν σε γῆμαι· ὁ πηρώσας με δύο ἔτι
δυσπενθεῖν καὶ δέεσθαί σου παρασχόμενος· ὁ τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει ἀνοίξας τοῦ νοός μου τὰς
ὄψεις καὶ τοὺς φαινομένους ὀφθαλμοὺς χαρισάμενός μοι· ὁ διαβλέψαντός μου καὶ τὸ
ἀτενίσαι γυναικὶ ἐπαχθές μοι διαγράψας·

ὁ τῆς προσκαίρου φαντασίας ῥυσάμενός με καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αἰὲ μένουσαν ζωὴν ὀδηγήσας
με· ὁ τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ ῥυπαρᾶς μανίας χωρήσας με· ἐπὶ δὲ σεαυτὸν καταστήσας μόνον· ὁ
τὴν ἀπόκρυφον νόσον τῆς σαρκός μου καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς μου φιμώσας καὶ τὴν φανερὰν
τράπεζαν δείξας μοι· ὁ θλίψας καὶ ἐξορίσας τὸν ἐν ἐμοὶ στασιάζοντα· ὁ ἄσπιλόν μου
τὴν πρὸς σὲ φιλίαν καταστήσας· ὁ ἄθραυστόν μου τὴν παρθενίαν τὴν πρὸς σε
καταστήσας· ὁ ἀνενδοίαστόν μου τὴν εἰς σὲ πίστιν δούς· ὁ καθαρὰν μου τὴν εἰς σὲ
γνώμην ὑπογράψας· ὁ τῶν ἔργων ἐκάστῳ τὸν ἐπάξιον μισθὸν ἀποδιδούς· ὁ
ἐγκαταθέμενός τῇ ψυχῇ μου μηδὲν ἔχειν σοῦ κτήμα τιμιώτερον

“you who chose us for apostleship to the gentiles; God who sent [us] into the world; you
who revealed yourself through your Law and prophets; who have made your goodness
known through all nature, proclaiming yourself even to the animals; who have made the
desolate and savage soul tame and gentle; who have appeared to it in the tomb when it
was dying; who have revealed yourself as law when it was sunk in lawlessness; who have
manifested yourself to it when it was already conquered by Satan; who have conquered
its adversary when it took refuge in you; who have given it your hand and raised it up
from the things of Hades; who have not let it live according to the body; who have
shown it its enemy; who have purified its knowledge of you; God, lord Jesus, father of
those above the heavens, god of the heavenly ones, law of the ethereal beings, guard of
the earthly and fear of the subterranean...;

you who have kept even me pure until the present hour and untainted by female
contact; who appeared to me when I wanted to marry in my youth and said, ‘I need you,
John’; who caused me to have a bodily illness when I was going to marry; who
prevented me the third time I wanted to marry, saying to me at the third hour of the
day, on the sea, ‘John, if you were not mine, I would let you marry’; who blinded me for
two years, allowing me to suffer and pray to you; who opened the eyes of my mind in
the third year and granted me external vision; who, when I could see, made it
burdensome for me even to look upon a woman;

who have rescued me from fleeting spectacles and led me to life that lasts forever; who
have separated me from the filthy madness of the flesh, establishing me on you alone;
who have muzzled the hidden illness of my flesh and my soul and revealed to me the
visible table; who have afflicted and cast out the rebelling in me; who established my
love for you spotless; who have established my virginity for you unbroken; who have
given me undoubting faith in you; who have ensured that my judgment of you is pure;
who give to each the recompense his works deserve; who have made my soul consider
nothing more precious than you” (A)^{JRZ} 112.1–113.22

Also in prayer:

- σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, “with the Father and the Holy Spirit” (AJ^{RZ} 109.20)
- σὺ μόνος θεός, “You alone are god.” (AJ^{RZ} 77.19)
- σὺ μόνος κύριος, “You alone are lord.” (AJ^{RZ} 108.12)

Drusiana

- κύριε, “Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 64.9)
- ὁ θεὸς τῶν αἰώνων Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁ παρασχόμενός μοι ἰδεῖν τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα, ὁ χαρισάμενός μοι τοῦ ὀνόματός σου κοινωνὸν γενέσθαι· ὁ ἐμφυσήσας μοι ἑαυτὸν τῇ πολυμόρφῳ σου ὄψει καὶ ἐλεήσας παντοίως· ὁ βιαζομένην με ὑπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ μου συμβίου Ἀνδρονίκου περισκεπάσας τῇ πολλῇ σου χρηστότητι· ὁ ἀδελφόν μοι παραδούς τὸν σὸν δοῦλον Ἀνδρόνικον· ὁ φυλάξας με καθαρὰν ἕως τοῦ νῦν τὴν σὴν δούλην· ὁ τελευτήσάν με ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου ἀναστήσας τοῦ σοῦ θεράποντος· ὁ καὶ ἐγῆγερμένην με δείξας τὸν σκανδαλισθέντα ἀσκανδάλιστον· ὁ ἀναπαύσας με ἐπὶ σὲ τελείως καὶ κουφίσας τῆς ἀποκρύφου μανίας· ὃν ἐφίλησα καὶ ἠγάπησα

“God of the ages, Jesus Christ, god of truth; you who let me see wonders and signs; who granted me to be a fellow of your name; who breathed into me with your polymorphous face and had mercy in every way; who kept watch over me by your great goodness when I suffered violence from my former husband Andronicus; who gave me your servant Andronicus as a brother; who kept me, your servant, pure until now; who raised me by John, your healer, when I had died; who, after I had been raised, showed me the one who had stumbled free from stumbling; who has let me find perfect rest in you and has relieved the hidden madness; whom I cherish and love” (AJ^{RZ} 82.3–14)

- Χριστέ, “Christ” (AJ^{RZ} 82.14)

Appendix D: Forms of Address in the Acts of John (AJ^{RZ})

Appendix D lists forms of address for human addressees in manuscripts *Patmos* 188 (R) and *Mezzujuso* 2 (Z) of the Acts of John. The data is organized according to speaker and addressee, with singular and plural forms of address listed separately. Forms of address for non-human figures including Jesus/God, a beautiful youth (AJ^{RZ} 73.4), Satan (AJ^{RZ} 30.11; cf. 49.4; 84.18), and bedbugs (AJ^{RZ} 60.10) are not listed here.

Singular Forms of Address

John

- To Lycomedes:
 - (ὁ) Λυκόμηδες, “Lycomedes” (AJ^{RZ} 21.7–8; 27.11; 29.1)
 - ἄνθρωπε, “man” (AJ^{RZ} 24.22)
 - ἀγαπητόν μου τέκνον, “my beloved child” (AJ^{RZ} 27.5)
 - τέκνον, “child” (AJ^{RZ} 28.2, 6–7)
- To Cleopatra:
 - Κλεοπάτρα, “Cleopatra” (AJ^{RZ} 23.2, 13; 24.15–16)
- To the parricide:¹
 - ταλαίπωρε, “miserable one” (AJ^{RZ} 51.3)
 - νεανίσκε, “young man” (AJ^{RZ} 54.3)
 - τέκνον (AJ^{RZ} 54.9)
- To the priest’s relative: τέκνον, “child” (AJ^{RZ} 46.19; 47.5)
- To Callimachus:
 - τέκνον, “child” (AJ^{RZ} 78.2; 81.10)
 - τέκνον Καλλίμαχε, “Callimachus, child” (AJ^{RZ} 81.18–19)
- To Drusiana: Δρουσιανή (AJ^{RZ} 80.1)
- To Fortunatus and/or Satan: ἀνοσιώτατε καὶ θεοῦ ἐχθρὲ Σατανᾶ, “most unholy Satan, enemy of God” (AJ^{RZ} 84.18)²

Lycomedes

- To John:
 - δοῦλε τοῦ φανερώσαντός μοι θεοῦ σαυτὸν (R μοι, Z με), “servant of the god who revealed you to me” (AJ^{RZ} 19.13–14)
 - κύριε, “Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 20.3)

¹ The parricide also replies when John uses the form of address δαίμων ἀναιδέστατε, “ruthless demon” (AJ^{RZ} 49.4).

² On the question of whom John is addressing, see above, p. 122.

- ο πάτερ, “Father” (AJ^{RZ} 27.16)
- To Cleopatra: Κλεοπάτρα(ν) (AJ^{RZ} 20.9, 11, 13)

Cleopatra

- To John: δέσποτα, “master” (AJ^{RZ} 23.9 [probably addresses John]; 24.13)

Ephesians

- To John: Ἰωάννη, “John” (AJ^{RZ} 40.3; 44.6)

Priest’s Relative

- To John: κύριε, “Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 46.20)

Murdered Father

- To John:
 - ο (probably addresses John) κύριε, “Lord” (AJ^{RZ} 52.5)
 - ο ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, “man of the living god” (AJ^{RZ} 52.7–8)

Andronicus

- To John:
 - ο πάτερ Ἰωάννη, “Father John” (AJ^{RZ} 65.5–6)
 - ο μακάριε δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰωάννη, “John, blessed servant of God” (AJ^{RZ} 74.3–4)
 - ο Ἰωάννη, “John” (AJ^{RZ} 79.3)

Callimachus

- To Drusiana:
 - ο (dead) ταλαίπωρε Δρουσιανή, “miserable Drusiana” (AJ^{RZ} 70.14)
 - ο (living) Δρουσιανή, “Drusiana” (AJ^{RZ} 81.5)
- To John:
 - ο Ἰωάννης, “John” (AJ^{RZ} 74.10)
 - ο δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ, “servant of God” (AJ^{RZ} 76.21)

Drusiana

- To John: πάτερ, “Father” (AJ^{RZ} 81.2)
- To Fortunatus (dead): Φουρουνᾶτε, “Fortunatus” (AJ^{RZ} 83.2)

Heavenly Voice

- To John: Ἰωάννη, “John” (AJ^{RZ} 18.8)

Unidentified Figure

- Lycomedes cites someone as addressing him: Λικόμιδε, “Lycomedes” (AJ^{RZ} 19.8–9)

Beautiful Young Man

- Callimachus cites the beautiful young man as addressing him: Καλλίμαχε, “Callimachus” (AJ^{RZ} 76.19)

Jesus

- John cites Jesus as addressing him: Ἰωάννη, “John” (AJ^{RZ} 113.3, 6)

Plural Forms of Address

John

- To Ephesians in the theatre episode: ἄνδρες Ἐφέσιοι, “Ephesians” (AJ^{RZ} 33.1; 36.10)
- To Ephesians in the Artemis temple episode:
 - ἄνδρες δοῦλοι τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ, “men who are servants of the only god” (AJ^{RZ} 38.4–5)
 - ἄνδρες Ἐφέσιοι, “Ephesians” (AJ^{RZ} 39.1, 8–9; 43.5)
 - ἄνδρες, “men” (AJ^{RZ} 45.1)
- To “brothers”:
 - ἀδελφοί, “brothers” (AJ^{RZ} 58.4; 86.3–4; 106.14; 107.10)
 - ἀγαπητοί, “beloved” (AJ^{RZ} 110.5)
 - τέκνα, “children” (AJ^{RZ} 111.4)
 - ἀδελφοί καὶ συγκληρονόμοι καὶ συμμετοχοὶ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου βασιλείας, “brothers and co-heirs and partners of the Lord’s kingdom” (AJ^{RZ} 106.3–5)

Appendix E: References to Jesus/God in the Acts of Philip (APh^A)

Appendix E lists third person references to Jesus/God in manuscript *Xenophontos* 32 of the Acts of Philip. The data is organized according to speaker and addressee. Due to sheer volume, forms of address and most third person references to Jesus/God found in citations and in prayers are not listed. Third person references to the Holy Spirit are included in the notes.¹

APh^A 1

Narrator

- ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν (APh^A 1.18.3), δοξάζοντες τὸν θεόν, (APh^A 1.18.7) “glorifying God”
- πιστεύσαντες τῷ Χριστῷ, “believing in Christ” (APh^A 1.18.4–5)

Philip

- To widow:
 - τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ μου δυνάμει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος καὶ ταφέντος καὶ ἀναστάντος καὶ βασιλεύοντος τῶν αἰώνων, ᾧ εἴ τις πιστεύει, λαμβάνει ζωὴν αἰώνιον, “by the power of my god Jesus Christ, the crucified and buried and risen and ruling the ages, in whom if anyone believes, he receives eternal life” (APh^A 1.2.5–8)
 - ὁ σωτήρ, “the savior” (APh^A 1.3.2)
 - ὁ θεός, “God” (APh^A 1.3.4, 6, 7)
- Formula for raising young man: Ἰησοῦς, “Jesus” (APh^A 1.4.2)
- Philip cites “God” as blessing those who ἔχοντες πατέρα Ἰησοῦν τὸν σταυρωθέντα, “have as a father Jesus the crucified.” (APh^A 1.3.11)

Widow

- To Philip:
 - ἀπόστολος θεοῦ, “an apostle of God” (APh^A 1.2.10)
 - τὸν Ἰησοῦν, “Jesus” (APh^A 1.3.13)

Young Man

- To Philip:
 - δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ Φίλιππε, “Philip, servant of God” (APh^A 1.14.1)
 - θεοῦ ἀπόστολε, “apostle of God” (APh^A 1.16.1)

¹ Note that κύριος, Ἰησοῦς, χριστός, and singular θεός are regularly abbreviated in the manuscript, regardless of speaker or addressee. The term ἄνθρωπος is also often abbreviated.

- Unspecified addressee(s):
 - ἄγγελον θεοῦ, “an angel of God” (APh^A 1.4.6)
 - Believing τῷ θεῷ, “in God” (APh^A 1.17.4)
 - τὸν ἀγαπητὸν Χριστόν, “the beloved Christ” (APh^A 1.17.5)
 - Believing τῷ Ἰησοῦ, “in Jesus” (APh^A 1.17.7)

Young Man (Dead)

- Unspecified addressee(s):
 - ἴλεως ἴλεως γενοῦ ὁ θεός, “May God be merciful!” (APh^A 1.9.2)
 - ἡ κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ, “God’s judgment” (APh^A 1.9.8)

Non-Christians (Living)

- Unspecified addressee(s): ὁ Χριστός, “Christ” (APh^A 1.5.6)

Non-Christians (Dead)

- To young man:
 - θεὸν λαθεῖν, “to escape God’s notice” (APh^A 1.6.10)
 - τὸν κριτὴν τὸν κρίνοντα ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, “the judge who judges the living and the dead” (APh^A 1.7.12–13)
 - Appealing τῷ θεῷ, “with God” (APh^A 1.7.13–14)

Undetermined Speakers (in Tour)

- To young man (dead): θεοῦ δούλοις, “servants of God” (APh^A 1.10.23)

Archangel Michael

- To young man (dead):
 - ὁ κρίνων, “the one who judges” (APh^A 1.8.3)
 - τῷ θεῷ, “God” (APh^A 1.13.6)

Angel

- To young man (dead): τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ, “the servants of God” (APh^A 1.16.12)

APh^A 3

Narrator²

- ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεόν (APh^A 3.3.1–2), ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν (APh^A 3.15.16), “glorifying God”
- ὁ Ἰησοῦς, “Jesus,” as a character (APh^A 3.3.10; 3.8.1)
- Φίλιππος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος, “Philip, the apostle of Christ” (APh^A 3.1.1)
- τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολον Πέτρον, “Peter, the apostle of Christ” (APh^A 3.1.2–3)

² The narrator also mentions being filled with πνεύματος ἁγίου, “the Holy Spirit” (APh^A 3.4.3) and saying ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, “in the [S]pirit” (APh^A 3.6.1–2).

- τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the grace of Christ” (APh^A 3.19.3–4)
- ὁ κύριος, “the Lord,” as a character (APh^A 3.9.7–8)
- Kneeling in prayer πρὸς τὸν κύριον, “to the Lord” (APh^A 3.1.16)
- Strengthening people ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον, “in the Lord” (APh^A 3.15.5)
- Being filled by πνεῦμα κυρίου, “the Lord’s spirit” (APh^A 3.3.12)
- ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν διὰ Φιλίππου· κηρυττόμενον θεὸν Ἰησοῦν [sic], “They were glorifying the god proclaimed by Philip, the god Jesus.” (APh^A 3.19.2–3)³

Philip

- To Peter et al.: τὸν στέφανον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the crown of Christ” (APh^A 3.1.7)
- To Peter and John: ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (APh^A 3.3.4)
- To “men who are with me”:⁴
 - ο δῶρα ὑψίστου, “gifts of the Most High” (APh^A 3.16.5)
 - ο τὸν ὀλόκληρον λίθον τὸν μήτε τεθέντα μήτε λατομηθέντα, ὅς ἐστιν ἔντιμος ἐκλεκτὸς ἀκρογωνιαίος θαυμαστὸς θεοφορούμενος, “the perfect stone that has been neither placed nor hewn, which is precious, chosen, cornered, marvelous, god-bearing” (APh^A 3.16.7–9)
 - ο ὁ Ἰησοῦς, “Jesus” (APh^A 3.17.3)
 - ο τὸν δυνάμενον σώζειν τὸν ἀσθενῆ...τόν ἐν οὐρανοῖς πλούσιον, “the one who is able to save the weak,..., the one who is rich in heaven” (APh^A 3.17.8–9)
 - ο τῷ ἐν οὐρανοῖς εὐεργέτῃ, “the heavenly benefactor” (APh^A 3.18.14–15)
 - ο Philip tells a story about an eagle who speaks to eaglets of ὁ βαστάζων ὑμᾶς, “one who carries you.” (APh^A 3.18.6–7)
- To an eagle: ὁ σωτήρ, “the savior” (APh^A 3.5.8)

APh^A 4

Narrator

- ἐδόξαζεν τὸν θεόν (APh^A 4.5.13), δοξάζουσα τὸν θεόν (APh^A 4.6.6), “glorifying God”
- Believing εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, “in Jesus” (APh^A 4.6.4)
- ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος Φίλιππος, “Philip, the servant of Christ” (APh^A 4.4.1)
- πίστει Χριστοῦ, “the faith of Christ” (APh^A 4.6.6)
- τῆς ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδος, “the seal in the Lord” (APh^A 4.6.2)

Philip

- To people of Azotus: Philip is reported as teaching that ἡ ἀγνεία ὁρᾷ τὸν θεόν, “purity sees God.” (APh^A 4.1.16)

³ The text is plausibly emended to read ἐδόξαζον τὸν διὰ Φιλίππου κηρυττόμενον θεὸν Ἰησοῦν, “They were glorifying Jesus, the god proclaimed by Philip” by Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler, *Acta Philippi*. See above, p. 159 and n. 42.

⁴ To the “men who are with me,” Philip also mentions τὸ τῆς ἀθανασίας ἅγιον πνεῦμα, “the holy spirit of immortality” (APh^A 3.17.2).

- To Charitine: ὁ Ἰησοῦς, “Jesus” (APh^A 4.5.4)
- To his soul:⁵
 - ο ὁ θεός, “God” (APh^A 4.3.3)
 - ο ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, “the man of God” (APh^A 4.3.12)
 - ο τὴν τοῦ κυρίου λογικὴν τροφήν, “the spiritual food of the Lord” (APh^A 4.3.6–7)
 - ο οἱ...ἐργαζόμενοι ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, “those working in Jesus” (APh^A 4.3.9)
 - ο τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the glory of Christ” (APh^A 4.3.12–13)
 - ο εἰς ὕψος ἀνάγοντί σε, “the one leading you up to the heights” (APh^A 4.3.23)⁶
 - ο τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, “Christ, the son of the living god” (APh^A 4.3.27)
 - ο Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, “Jesus Christ” (APh^A 4.3.33)

John

- To Philip:
 - ο ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (APh^A 3.2.7)
 - ο Ἰησοῦς, “Jesus” (APh^A 3.2.8)

People of Azotus⁷

- Amongst themselves: θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, “a man of God” (APh^A 4.1.9)
- Acclamation: εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ, “Blessed be his god.” (APh^A 4.1.14)

Charitine

- To Philip: τοῦ ἐν σοὶ ἱατροῦ, “the doctor in you” (APh^A 4.5.8)
- Philip instructs her to use the formula ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “in the name of Jesus Christ.” (APh^A 4.5.11)

Demons

- To Philip: τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, “the name of Jesus” (APh^A 4.1.7–8)

APh^A 5–7

Generic references to “the messiah” are excluded from this appendix.

⁵ To his soul, Philip also mentions τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος τροφήν, “the food of the Spirit” (APh^A 4.3.21).

⁶ The participle could be neuter: “that which leads you up to the heights.” See Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler, *Acta Philippi*, 120 n. 7.

⁷ Some people of Azotus also suggest that there is πνεῦμα ἅγιον, “a holy spirit” in Philip (APh^A 4.1.13).

Narrator⁸

- δοξάζων τὸν θεόν (APh^A 6.15.19), ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν (APh^A 6.21.2–3), “glorifying God”
- τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ, “the marvels of God” (APh^A 5.1.6–7)
- φόβῳ θεοῦ, “fear of God” (APh^A 5.1.9)
- Giving thanks τῷ θεῷ, “to God” (APh^A 6.22.4)
- Saying to τῷ θεῷ, “to God” (APh^A 6.22.5)
- τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ, “the gift of God” (APh^A 7.4.7)
- The word given to Philip παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, “by God” (7.4.12)
- Ἰησοῦς, “Jesus,” as a character (APh^A 5.13.7)
- Praying πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, “to Jesus” (APh^A 5.19.2)
- Remembering τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, “Jesus” (APh^A 5.23.2)
- Following τῷ Ἰησοῦ, “Jesus” (APh^A 6.8.5)
- Seeing τὸν Ἰησοῦν, “Jesus” (APh^A 6.18.1)
- ἐπονομάσας τὸν Ἰησοῦν, “invoking Jesus” (APh^A 7.7.7)
- τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, “the glory of Jesus” (APh^A 5.27.3)
- Φίλιππος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος, “Philip, the apostle of Christ” (APh^A 5.1.1)
- Φίλιππος ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “Philip, the disciple of Christ” (APh^A 5.2.2–3)
- Believing εἰς τὸν Χριστόν / τῷ Χριστῷ, “in Christ” (APh^A 5.17.1–2; 6.1.7; 6.21.1)
- τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the grace of the revelation of Christ” (APh^A 5.1.4–5)
- τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the grace of Christ” (APh^A 5.4.11–12)
- τὴν διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the teaching of Christ” (APh^A 5.1.9)
- τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the marvels of Christ” (APh^A 7.4.6)
- Speaking boldly ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, “in Christ” (APh^A 7.4.2–3)
- Receiving power παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “from Christ” (APh^A 7.4.11)
- A blessing, ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ’ ἡμῶν εἴη εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, “May the peace of Christ be with us forever.” (APh^A 6.22.6)
- Believing εἰς τὸν κύριον, “in the Lord” (APh^A 7.1.2–3)
- ὁ σωτήρ, “the savior” (APh^A 5.19.7)

Philip

- To ministry colleagues:
 - εἰς ὃν ἐκ ψυχῆς ἠλπίκαμεν πεποιθότες ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, “the one in whom we have hoped from the soul, trusting in him” (APh^A 5.3.2–3)
 - Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, “Jesus [the] Christ” (APh^A 5.3.5)
 - ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ δίκαιος ἀθλητὴς ὁ δυνάμενος ῥύσασθαι ἡμᾶς, “Christ, the righteous athlete who is able to deliver us” (APh^A 5.4.3–4)
 - ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, “the lord Jesus” (APh^A 5.4.8–9)
 - ὁ θεός, “God” (APh^A 5.26.9)
- To Nicaterans: Philip is reported as teaching that ἡ ἀγνεία...ὁμιλεῖ τῷ θεῷ, “purity associates with God.” (APh^A 5.5.6–7)⁹

⁸ The narrator also mentions being filled τῷ πνεύματι, “with the Spirit” (APh^A 5.1.10).

- To Ireos:
 - ο εἰρήνη Χριστοῦ, “the peace of Christ” (APh^A 5.7.3)
 - ο κύριος Ἰησοῦς, “the lord Jesus” (APh^A 5.7.8–9)
 - ο κύριος, “the Lord” (APh^A 5.8.4)
 - ο Ἰησοῦς, “Jesus” (APh^A 5.16.4)
 - ο Ἰησοῦς εἰς ὃν ἠλπικα, “Jesus in whom I have hoped” (APh^A 6.5.15)
 - τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μου, “the glory of my Christ” (APh^A 6.5.17–18)
 - ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, “in the name of Jesus” (APh^A 6.5.19)
 - τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the cross of Christ” (APh^A 6.12.3)
- To colleagues and/or Ireos: ἀγαλλιώμενος ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ μου, “rejoicing in my Christ” (APh^A 6.22.2–3)
- To people in Ireos’ house:
 - τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, “Jesus” (APh^A 5.24.1–2)
 - τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, “the word of Jesus” (APh^A 5.25.2)
 - τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, “the word of God” (APh^A 5.25.4)
- To Aristarchus: ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὁ μηδέποτε ἡμῶν ἀπολειπόμενος, “Jesus who never abandons us” (APh^A 6.12.11–12)
- To slaves: Χριστόν, “Christ” (APh^A 6.21.6)
- To Nercella and Artemilla: ὁ σωτήρ, “the savior” (APh^A 7.1.7)
- To “brothers”:
 - θέλημα θεοῦ “the will of God” (APh^A 7.5.6)
 - τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the will of Christ” (APh^A 7.5.4; 7.6.6)
 - τῇ φυτεῖα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the plantation of Christ” (APh^A 7.5.7–8)
 - τὴν χάριν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the grace of Christ” (APh^A 7.5.9)
 - ὁ κύριός μου, “my lord” (APh^A 7.6.4)
 - ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (APh^A 7.6.6)
 - ἡ τοῦ κυρίου ἀντίληψις, “the support of the Lord” (APh^A 7.8.7–8)
 - ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, “the grace and glory and love of the lord Jesus” (APh^A 7.8.5–6)
- Formula for healing Theophilus: ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “in the name of Jesus Christ” (APh^A 6.20.10)

Ministry Colleagues

- To Philip: ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, “the lord Jesus” (APh^A 5.13.2)

Nicaterans

- Amongst themselves:
 - ο ἐσταυρωμένον λέγει θεὸν θεοῦ ζῶντος υἱόν, “He says that a crucified god is a son of a living god.” (APh^A 6.7.14–15)
 - ὄνομά τινος Ἰησοῦ, “the name of a certain Jesus” (APh^A 5.5.7–8)

⁹ APh^A 6.7.14–15 may or may not paraphrase Philip.

- To Philip: πιστεύσωμεν τῷ διὰ σοῦ κηρυττομένῳ Χριστῷ, “We will believe in the messiah you proclaim.” (APh^A 6.12.20–21)
- Acclamations:
 - ο εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ Φιλίππου, “Blessed be Philip’s god.” (APh^A 5.27.5)
 - ο εἷς θεὸς ὁ Φιλίππου Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνιστῶν, “There is one god, that of Philip, Christ Jesus who raises the dead.” (APh^A 6.20.14–15)
 - ο οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς ἕτερος ζῶν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Φιλίππου ὁ ποιῶν τὰ μεγαλεῖα δι’ αὐτοῦ, “There is no other living god except that of Philip, who does marvels through him.” (APh^A 6.20.17–18)

Ireos

- To Philip:
 - ο ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, “man of God” (APh^A 5.8.2)
 - ο τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the name of Christ” (APh^A 7.2.2)
- To Nercella:
 - ο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ, “the man of God” (APh^A 5.10.6–7); ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ, “a man of God” (APh^A 5.10.10); θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον, “a man of God” (APh^A 5.18.3)
 - ο οἰκητήριον τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ, “the dwelling of his god” (APh^A 5.9.4–5)
 - ο τῷ διὰ τοῦ ξένου κηρυττομένῳ θεῷ, “the god proclaimed by the stranger” (APh^A 5.10.2–3)
 - ο ὁ...θεὸς αὐτοῦ θεὸς ζῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, δυνατὸς ὑπερηφάνους θραύσαι, πονηρευομένους ἀφανίσαι, “his god...a god who lives in heaven, able to shatter the arrogant, to obliterate the wicked” (APh^A 5.11.3)
 - ο ὁ θεὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου, “the god of this man” (APh^A 5.20.5)
- To his household: τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, “the man of God” (APh^A 5.14.6–7)
- To Nicaterans:
 - ο ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, “the man of God” (APh^A 6.4.3–4)
 - ο τὸν ἴδιον θεόν, “his god” (APh^A 6.4.4)
 - ο οἱ ἐναντιούμενοι τῷ θεῷ, “those opposing God” (APh^A 6.18.12–13)
 - ο ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ θεός, “the god in him” (APh^A 6.18.14–15)
- To Nereus: τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ “the will of God” (APh^A 7.2.11–12)
- Formula for healing Aristarchus: ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, “in the name of the crucified” (APh^A 6.12.4)

Nercella

- To Ireos:
 - ο ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ, “his god” (APh^A 5.11.1–2)
 - ο θέλημά...οὔπερ λέγεις θεοῦ, “the will of the god of whom you speak” (APh^A 5.11.6)

Artemilla

- To Philip: ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, “man of God” (APh^A 5.24.5)

- To Nercella: τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ, “the man of God” (APh^A 5.21.7)

Theophilus

- Acclamation: εἷς θεὸς ὁ Φιλίππου Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὃς ἔδωκέν μοι τὸ ζῆν, “There is one god, that of Philip, Christ Jesus who has given me life.” (APh^A 6.20.11–12)

Theophilus’ Parents

- To Philip: Theophilus’ parents anticipate believing that θεὸς ζῶν μόνος ὁ Φιλίππου ὁ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνιστῶν, “The only living god is that of Philip, the one who raises the dead.” (APh^A 6.17.11–12)

Aristarchus

- To Philip:
 - λέγεις...αὐτὸν θεόν, “You say that he is [a] God.” (APh^A 6.9.5; cf. 6.13.17)
 - οὗτός ἐστι δύναμις θεοῦ καὶ θεοῦ σοφία, ὃς συμπαρήν τῷ θεῷ ὅτε τὸν κόσμον ἐποίει, “He is the power of God and the wisdom of God, who was with God when he made the world.” (APh^A 6.13.19–20)
 - τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, “Jesus the crucified” (APh^A 6.9.5)
 - κατὰ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, “by the crucified” (APh^A 6.12.14)
 - τὸν Ἰησοῦν, “Jesus” (APh^A 6.13.17)
 - οὗτος Ἰησοῦς καὶ Χριστὸς λέγεται, “This one is called Jesus and Messiah.” (APh^A 6.15.1–2)

“Jews”

- To Philip:
 - θεὸν ἔχεις, “You have [a] God.” (APh^A 6.11.8)
 - θεῷ μάχεσθαι, “to fight with [a] God” (APh^A 6.11.10)
- Amongst themselves: ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, “from God” (APh^A 7.3.5)

APh^A 8ff.

Narrator

- ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεόν (APh^A 11.1.4–5; 11.10.2; 12.8.5–6), δοξάζοντες τὸν θεόν (APh^A 12.1.2–3; M.32.15; M.41.6–7), “glorifying God”
- ὁ...τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλος ἀπόστολος, “the apostle and servant of God” (APh^A 11.4.1)
- τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐχαριστία, “the eucharist of God” (APh^A 11.10.3)
- τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, “the word of God” (APh^A 15.6.4; M.28.6)
- Speaking to τὸν θεόν, “God” (APh^A 15.7.1)
- A doxology begins τῷ...θεῷ ἡμῶν, “to our god.” (APh^A 14.9.6)
- Praising τὸν Χριστόν, “Christ” (APh^A 11.8.4)
- τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ κοινωνίας, “the fellowship of Christ” (APh^A 11.1.6)
- τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the gospel of Christ” (APh^A M.1.6–7)
- ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (APh^A 8.1.3; 13.1.6; M.42.1, 9)

- τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν τοῦ κυρίου, “the seventy disciples of the Lord” (APh^A M.2.3–4)
- ὁ σωτήρ (APh^A 8.1.1; M.29.1; M.31.1; M.32.1, 12), τοῦ σωτήρος, “the savior” (APh^A M.30.1–2)
- τῆς στοῦ [sic] σωτήρος εὐχαριστίας, “the eucharist of the savior” (APh^A 11.1.4)
- ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, “in Christ Jesus our lord” (APh^A 15.8.3)
- Instructing the church ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, “in Christ Jesus our lord” (APh^A M.42.12)
- Doxologies including τῷ πατρί, “the Father” and τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, “the Holy Spirit” (APh^A 15.8.4; M.42.13)
- Baptizing εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, “in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit” (APh^A M.2.11–12; cf. M.41.10)
- τὴν ἀκτῖνα τοῦ φωτὸς τῆς μονάδος, “the rays of the light of the Monad” (APh^A 13.3.8–9)

Philip

- To Mariamne: ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν, “our master” (APh^A 13.4.3)
- To Bartholomew:
 - ὁ σωτήρ, “the savior” (APh^A 13.4.7, 10)
 - Βαρθολομαῖε ἀδελφέ μου ἐν Χριστῷ, “Bartholomew, my brother in Christ” (APh^A M.36.3)
 - Eating and drinking ἐν Χριστῷ, “in Christ” (APh^A M.36.30)
 - τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the witness of Christ” (APh^A M.37.5–6)
 - ὁ κύριος, “the Lord” (APh^A M.36.4)
 - ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, “our lord” (APh^A M.36.16, 35, 36; M.37.11–12)
 - Praying πρὸς κύριον, “to the Lord” (APh^A M.36.41)
 - ὁ θεός, “God” (APh^A M.37.14)
- To Bartholomew, Mariamne, leopard, and goat:
 - ἡ ζῶσα φωνὴ τοῦ ὑψίστου, “the living voice of the Most High” (APh^A 13.5.1–2)
 - ὁ Χριστός, “(the) Christ” (APh^A 13.5.9)
- To Stachys:¹⁰
 - τὸν καλοῦντά σε, “the one who calls you” (APh^A 14.6.18)
 - ὁ θεός, “God” (APh^A 15.2.4)
 - τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πατρός, “the good father” (APh^A 15.2.6)
 - ὁ πλοῦτος τοῦ θεοῦ, “the wealth of God” (APh^A 15.2.15)
 - ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ, “the peace of God” (APh^A 15.3.1)
 - τὸν Χριστόν, “Christ” (APh^A 15.3.14)¹¹

¹⁰ To Stachys, Philip also speaks as follows: ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, “by the Holy Spirit” (APh^A 14.6.5–6) and ἡ σφραγὶς τοῦ πνεύματος, “the seal of the Spirit” (APh^A 15.3.3).

¹¹ On the syntax of the latter term, see Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler, *Acta Philippi*, 334 n. 17.

- To some people of the city:
 - ο υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, “sons of my father” (APh^A M.3.1–2)
 - ο κατὰ Χριστόν, “according to Christ” (APh^A M.3.2)
 - ο τὸν Χριστόν, “Christ” (APh^A M.6.2)
 - ο ὁ θεός, “God” (APh^A M.4.3)
- To “men of the city”:
 - ο αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ θεοῦ, “the powerful works of God” (APh^A M.33.4)
 - ο τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν, “the true god” (APh^A M.33.8–9)
 - ο ὅλον τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ μου, “the entire will of my god” (APh^A M.33.9)
- To “the baptized”:
 - ο ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί μου οἱ φωτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ, “my brothers enlightened in Christ” (APh^A M.34.3)
 - ο The will τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ῥυομένου ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης τοῦ διαβόλου, “of our savior Jesus Christ who rescues the whole world from the Devil’s deception” (APh^A M.34.7–9)
 - ο τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην...τοῦ σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ, “this command of Christ the savior” (APh^A M.34.13–14)
 - ο παρὰ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ κριτοῦ, “by the true judge” (APh^A M.34.22)
 - ο With these addressees, Philip also quotes Jesus regarding τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, “the kingdom of God.” (APh^A M.34.15–16)
- To “crowds around him”:
 - ο Jesus was θεός, “God.” (APh^A M.35.4)
 - ο τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the goodness of Christ” (APh^A M.35.4)
- To demons (adjuration):
 - ο ἐν τῷ ἐσταυρωμένῳ, “by the crucified one” (APh^A 11.3.1)
 - ο τὸ δεδοξασμένον ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς, τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ, τοῦ ὑψίστου, “by the glorified name of the Father, of the only-begotten son, of the Most High” (APh^A 11.4.8–9)
 - ο ἐν τῷ κράτει τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, “in the power of Jesus” (APh^A 11.7.3)
- To the leopard and goat kid:
 - ο τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, “the word of God” (APh^A 12.6.3)
 - ο ὁ θεός, “God” (APh^A 12.6.4)
 - ο διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, “through his Christ” (APh^A 12.6.5)

Philip and Bartholomew

- To John: Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ μὴ ἐπιτρέπων ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκδίκησιν κατὰ τούτων τῶν βασανιζόντων ἡμᾶς, “Jesus of Nazareth who does not permit us to exact our own vengeance against those who torture us” (APh^A M.25.12–14)

Staychus

- To Philip:
 - ο ὁ ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, “man of God” (APh^A 14.4.1)
 - ο πιστεύσω...τῷ θεῷ, “I will believe in God.” (APh^A 14.4.2)

- ο ὁ θεός ἐστὶν ὁ ἐμφανίσας μοι ἑαυτόν, “God is the one who has revealed himself to me.” (APh^A 14.4.22–23)

People of the City

- Amongst themselves: δύναμις θεοῦ, “power of [a] God” (APh^A 14.8.4)
- To John: ξένον ὄνομα...Χριστοῦ, “a strange name, that of Christ” (APh^A M.22.8)
- Acclamation: εἷς θεὸς ὁ ἀποστείλας ἡμῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα κηρύττουσιν οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι, “There is one god, the one who has sent us his salvation, whose name these people proclaim.” (APh^A M.32.16–19)

Nicanora

- Unspecified addressee(s): τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ, “the servants of God” (APh^A 15.6.14)
- To Mariamne: τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ θεοῦ, “the goodness of God” (APh^A M.10.6–7)

Mariamne

- To Nicanora: ἦλθεν ὁ λυτρωτὴς ὁ ρυόμενός σε, “the redeemer who is delivering you” (APh^A M.9.7–8)¹²

Bartholomew

- According to the narrator, Bartholomew commands Stachys βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, “to baptize in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.” (APh^A M.41.9–10)

Jesus, in the form of Philip:

- To Bartholomew and Mariamne: τῇ ἀποθήκῃ τοῦ πατρὸς “the barn of the Father” (APh^A M.42.4)

Demons

- To the apostles:
 - ο ὧ οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ ἀνονομάστου θεοῦ, “servants of the ineffable god” (APh^A 11.2.5–6)
 - οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλοι, “servants of Christ” (APh^A 11.2.11)
 - ὁ μεθ’ ὑμῶν Ἰησοῦς, ὅς ἐστιν υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, “Jesus who is with you, who is God’s son” (APh^A 11.2.12–13)
 - ὁ...καθ’ ἡμῶν σταυρωθεὶς, “the one crucified against us” (APh^A 11.2.16)

Dragon

- To Philip:

¹² Mariamne addresses Nicanora as ὦ θυγάτηρ τοῦ πνεύματος, “daughter of the Spirit” (APh^A M.9.4–5).

- ὁ νῦν διὰ σοῦ ὀλέσθαι με θέλων, “the one who now wishes to destroy me through you” (APh^A 11.3.4)
- (adjuration) τοῦ δεδωκότος σοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην, “the one who has given you this authority” (APh^A 11.6.4–5)
- τὸ ἁγίασμα τοῦ θεοῦ, “God’s sanctuary” (APh^A 11.6.10)
- ἐκκλησία θεοῦ ζῶντος, “a church of the living god” (APh^A 11.6.12–13)
- διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, “by the name of the crucified” (APh^A 11.6.13–14)

Leopard

- To the apostles:
 - ὧ δοῦλοι τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μόνου, ὧ ἀπόστολοι τοῦ θείου μεγέθους, “servants of the first and only, apostles of the divine greatness” (APh^A 12.2.2–3)
 - (adjuration) τὸν θεόν, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα ἔφθασεν εἰς ὑμᾶς [sic] μὴ ὄντας ἁξίους, “God, whose name has reached us who were unworthy” (APh^A 12.2.3–4)
 - ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ, “the power of God” (APh^A 12.2.13)
 - τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐχαριστίας, “the eucharist of Christ” (APh^A 12.3.1–2)
 - τοῦ θεοῦ / ὁ θεός / τῷ θεῷ, “God” (APh^A 12.3.2–3, 4; 12.4.1–2, 6, 10)
 - ὁ μονογενής, “the only-begotten” (APh^A 12.3.5)
 - ἀπόστολοι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ σωτῆρος, “apostles of the good savior” (APh^A 12.4.11–12)
 - τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦντος πᾶσαν φύσιν ἕως καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, “[G]od who watches over every nature, even that of wild animals” (APh^A 12.5.10–11)

Leopard and goat kid

- In prayer: ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, “our god” (APh^A 12.8.15)¹³

¹³ This could be addressed to the apostles, although the text does not indicate a change of addressee.

Appendix F: References to Philip and the Apostles in the Acts of Philip (APh^A)

Appendix F lists singular third person references to Philip, and plural third person references to the apostles Philip, Bartholomew, and Mariamne, in manuscript *Xenophontos* 32 of the Acts of Philip. The data is organized according to speaker and addressee. Forms of address are not included.

APh^A 1

Narrator

- By name alone (APh^A 1.15.1)
- ὁ ἀπόστολος (APh^A 1.1.3, 5; 1.2.1; 1.3.1, 12; 1.4.1; 1.16.2), τῷ ἀποστόλῳ (APh^A 1.18.3–4, 5), “the apostle”
- Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, “Philip the apostle” (APh^A 1.1.1)
- τὸν ἅγιον Φίλιππον, “the holy Philip” (APh^A 1.4.3–4)
- In the title: τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου, “the holy apostle Philip” (APh^A 1.T)

Young Man (Living)

- Unspecified addressee(s): τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου, “this person” (APh^A 1.4.4)

Archangel Michael

- To young man (dead): τὸν μετακαλούμενόν σε, “the one calling you back” (APh^A 1.11.13; cf. 1.12.20)¹

Young Man (Dead)

- To archangel Michael: τὸν μετακαλεσάμενόν με, “the one who has called me back” (APh^A 1.12.20)²

APh^A 3

Narrator

- By name alone (21x): APh^A 3.1.5, 15, 17; 3.2.1; 3.3.1, 2; 3.4.1; 3.5.1, 5; 3.6.1; 3.8.1; 3.9.1; 3.10.1; 3.12.1; 3.13.1; 3.14.1, 6 (first person); 3.15.5, 15; 3.16.1; 3.19.2
- Φίλιππος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος, “Philip, the apostle of Christ” (APh^A 3.1.1)
- ὁ μακάριος Φίλιππος, “the blessed Philip” (APh^A 3.3.7)
- In title of act: τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου, “the holy apostle Philip” (APh^A 3.T)

¹ This is probably a reference to Philip.

² This is probably a reference to Philip.

APh^A 4

Narrator

- By name alone (8x): APh^A 4.2.1, 7, 9; 4.3.1; 4.5.2, 6, 10; 4.6.5
- τοῦ ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου, “the apostle Philip” (APh^A 4.1.1–2)
- ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος Φίλιππος, “Philip, the servant of Christ” (APh^A 4.4.1)
- τοῦ ἀποστόλου (APh^A 4.4.3), τῷ ἀποστόλῳ (APh^A 4.5.1), “the apostle”
- In title of act: τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου, “the holy apostle Philip” (APh^A 4.T)

People of Azotus

- Amongst themselves:
 - μάγος, “a magician” (APh^A 4.1.9)
 - θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, “a man of God” (APh^A 4.1.9)

APh^A 5–7

Narrator

- By name alone (102x)³
- Φίλιππος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος, “Philip, the apostle of Christ” (APh^A 5.1.1)
- Φίλιππος ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, “Philip, the disciple of Christ” (APh^A 5.2.2–3)⁴
- ὁ ἀπόστολος (APh^A 6.5.14; 6.6.10; 7.1.3), τοῦ ἀποστόλου (APh^A 6.16.1–2), τῷ ἀποστόλῳ (APh^A 6.17.5), “the apostle”
- In titles of acts: τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου, “the holy apostle Philip” (APh^A 5.T; 7.T); Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, “Philip the apostle” (APh^A 6.T)

Nicaterans

- Amongst themselves:
 - By name alone (APh^A 5.6.13; 6.15.7, 9, 16; cf. 6.19.7)
 - οὗτος, “this one” (APh^A 5.2.5)
 - ὁ ξένος (APh^A 5.6.15; 6.3.6), τῷ ξένῳ (APh^A 5.6.18), and τοῦ ξένου (APh^A 6.1.11), “the stranger”
 - ὁ μάγος (APh^A 5.14.4) and τὸν μάγον (APh^A 6.1.8), “the magician”
 - ὁ μάγος ὁ λεγόμενος Φίλιππος, “the magician called Philip” (APh^A 6.1.5–6)
 - ὁ φαρμακός, “the sorcerer” (APh^A 6.1.9)
 - ὁ φαρμακὸς οὗτος, “that sorcerer” (APh^A 5.6.16–17)
 - τοῦ πλάνου, “the deceiver” (APh^A 6.6.12)

³ APh^A 5.1.5; 5.2.1, 6; 5.3.1; 5.4.1, 9; 5.5.2; 5.6.2, 11; 5.7.2, 2–3, 5; 5.8.4, 7, 8, 10; 5.12.2, 5; 5.13.1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11; 5.14.2–3, 7; 5.15.3, 4, 6; 5.16.3; 5.17.2, 5; 5.19.1, 7, 10; 5.22.4, 6–7; 5.23.1, 3, 4; 5.24.1, 6; 5.25.1, 6 (x2); 5.26.3 (x2); 5.27.1; 6.1.1, 4 (x2); 6.5.8; 6.6.1, 4, 8, 9; 6.7.6, 7, 9; 6.8.1, 4; 6.9.2, 4; 6.10.1, 2; 6.11.2, 7; 6.12.1, 6–7, 10, 13; 6.13.1, 8, 9; 6.14.1; 6.15.18 (x2); 6.17.2, 6; 6.18.1, 4, 5; 6.19.2–3; 6.20.1, 7, 9; 6.21.5; 6.22.2, 3; 7.1.2, 6; 7.2.1, 2; 7.4.1, 4, 5; 7.5.3; 7.6.3; 7.7.1, 5; 7.8.4, 5. The narrator once refers to himself as ἐγὼ Φίλιππος, “I, Philip” (APh^A 3.14.6). This is the only place in APh^A that the narrator identifies himself with Philip.

⁴ The latter may be reported speech.

- τῷ χριστιανῷ, “the Christian” (APh^A 6.16.7)
- The claim οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ μάγος, “This is the magician” (APh^A 6.6.6–7) is repeated by Ireos as:
 - μάγος ἐστὶν οὗτος, “This man is a magician.” (APh^A 6.7.11–12)
 - μάγος ἐστὶν ὁ Φίλιππος, “Philip is a magician.” (APh^A 6.18.14)
- To Ireos:
 - τὸν ξένον, “the stranger” (APh^A 6.5.1–2)
 - τὸν πλάνον, “the deceiver” (APh^A 6.6.2–3)
 - τὸν μάγον, “the magician” (APh^A 6.6.3 [x2])
- Acclamations:
 - εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ Φιλίππου, “Blessed be Philip’s god.” (APh^A 5.27.5)
 - εἷς θεὸς ὁ Φιλίππου Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνιστῶν, “There is one god, that of Philip, Christ Jesus who raises the dead.” (APh^A 6.20.14–15)
 - οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς ἕτερος ζῶν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Φιλίππου ὁ ποιῶν τὰ μεγαλεῖα δι’ αὐτοῦ, “There is no other living god except that of Philip, who does marvels through him.” (APh^A 6.20.17–18)

Ireos

- To Nercella:
 - τοῦ ξένου, “the stranger” (APh^A 5.10.3)
 - τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ, “the man of God” (APh^A 5.10.6–7); ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ, “a man of God” (APh^A 5.10.10); θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον, “a man of God” (APh^A 5.18.3)
 - τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου, “this man” (APh^A 5.20.5)
- To his household: τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, “the man of God” (APh^A 5.14.6–7)
- To Nicaterans:
 - ἀνδρὶ ξένῳ, “a stranger” (APh^A 5.6.5)
 - τοῦ δικαίου ἀνδρός (APh^A 6.2.14–15; 6.4.2) and τὸν δίκαιον (APh^A 6.7.8–9), “the righteous man”
 - ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, “the man of God” (APh^A 6.4.3–4)
 - τὸν ἄνδρα, “the man” (APh^A 6.7.3)
- To Nereus: By name alone (APh^A 6.21.13)
- In prayer: τοῦ σοῦ ἀποστόλου, “your apostle” (APh^A 5.8.11–12)

Nercella

- To Ireos:
 - τινὸς ξένου μάγου Φιλίππου, “Philip, a certain stranger and magician” (APh^A 5.9.3)
 - τὸν μάγον ἐκεῖνον, “that magician” (APh^A 5.9.11)
 - ξένῳ ἀνθρώπῳ, “a stranger” (APh^A 5.14.14; cf. 5.16.7)
 - ὁ ξένος (APh^A 5.20.10), τῷ ξένῳ (APh^A 5.20.13), “the stranger”

Artemilla

- To Nercella: τοῦ ξένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ, “the stranger, the man of God” (APh^A 5.21.7)

Onesimus

- To Ireos:
 - τοῦ ξένου, “the stranger” (APh^A 6.3.10)
 - ἐκεῖνος ὁ μάγος, “that magician” (APh^A 6.3.14)

Theophilus

- Acclamation: εἷς θεὸς ὁ Φιλίππου Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὃς ἔδωκέν μοι τὸ ζῆν, “There is one god, that of Philip, Christ Jesus who has given me life.” (APh^A 6.20.11–12)

Theophilus’ Parents

- To Philip: Theophilus’ parents anticipate believing that θεὸς ζῶν μόνος ὁ Φιλίππου ὁ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνιστῶν, “The only living god is that of Philip, the one who raises the dead.” (APh^A 6.17.11–12)

Nereus

- To Ireos: By name alone (APh^A 6.21.12)

Aristarchus

- To “Jews”: τῷ ξένῳ τούτῳ, “this stranger” (APh^A 6.13.4)

“Jews”

- Amongst themselves:
 - By name alone (APh^A 7.3.3)
 - τοῦ ξένου, “the stranger” (APh^A 7.3.3)

APh^A 8ff.

Narrator

References to Philip:

- By name alone (41x)⁵
- ὁ ἀπόστολος (APh^A 11.3.1; 11.7.1; 12.6.2), τοῦ ἀποστόλου (APh^A 15.6.1; M.7.1; M.41.8), “the apostle”

⁵ APh^A 11.2.1; 11.5.7; 11.6.1; 11.9.1; 11.10.1–2; 12.1.6; 12.2.1; 12.7.1; 12.8.1; 13.1.2; 13.2.6; 13.3.7–8; 13.4.3; 13.5.1; 14.1.3; 14.5.1; 14.8.7; 14.9.1; 15.8.1; M.2.5, 10, 15, 21; M 14.8; M.19.1–2, 7; M.21.1; M.22.1; M.23.2, 3, 5; M.25.11; M.26.1; M.29.1; M.30.1; M.32.8, 12–13; M.34.1–2; M.35.1; M.36.2–3; M.38.1

- ὁ ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος (APh^A 12.1.1; 15.2.1; M.33.1), τοῦ ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου (APh^A M.42.2), Φίλιππος ὁ ἀπόστολος (APh^A M.1.5), “the apostle Philip”
- ὁ...τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλος ἀπόστολος, “the apostle and servant of God” (APh^A 11.4.1)
- οὗτος, “this one” (APh^A 11.4.7)⁶
- In titles of acts: τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου, “the holy apostle Philip” (APh^A 8.T; 13.T; 14.T; 15.T); τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλίππου, “the holy Philip” (APh^A 12.T); τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ πανευφήμου ἀποστόλου, “the holy and well-famed apostle” (APh^A M.T)

References to the apostles:

- οἱ ἀπόστολοι (APh^A 13.1.1; 13.4.1; 13.5.24; 15.1.10; M.27.4–5) τῶν ἀποστόλων (APh^A 13.2.1; 13.3.5–6; M.16.2), τοῖς ἀποστόλοις (APh^A 13.2.4), τοὺς ἀποστόλους (APh^A 14.2.2; M.2.13; M.32.21), “the apostles”⁷

Stachys

- To his children:
 - τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς καθημένους ἐν τῇ πύλῃ, “those people sitting at the gate” (APh^A 14.1.5–6)
 - ἄνδρες καθήμενοι ἐν τῇ πύλῃ, “men sitting at the gate” (APh^A 14.1.9)
 - ἐκεῖνοι, “they” (APh^A 14.1.6)

Stachys’ Children

- To Stachys: οἱ ἰατροὶ ἐκεῖνοι, “those doctors” (APh^A 14.1.8)

Nicanora’s Servants

- To Nicanora: τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς θεραπεύοντας ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Στάχυος, “the people healing in the house of Stachys” (APh^A 15.6.9)

Nicanora

- Unspecified addressee(s): τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ, “the servants of God” (APh^A 15.6.14)
- In prayer: τοὺς ἁγίους σου ἀποστόλους, “your holy apostles” (APh^A 15.7.11)

People of the City

- Amongst themselves: ἀνθρώπους θεοσεβεῖς, “pious people” (APh^A 14.8.2)
- To John:
 - τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων, “these people” (APh^A M.22.5)
 - τούτων κοινωνὸς, “a partner of these” (APh^A M.25.4)
- Exclamation: οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι, “these people” (APh^A M.32.17)

⁶ According to *Xen.* 32.

⁷ APh^A 8.1.1 refers to the original apostles sent out by the Lord. APh^A 13.1.13 may not represent the narrator’s voice.

Tyrannognophos

- To Nicanora:
 - ἐκείνους, “them” (APh^A 15.7.18)
 - τοὺς μάγους τούτους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, “these magicians” (APh^A M.12.5–6)
 - τῶν ξένων τούτων τῶν μάγων καὶ πλάνων, “these strangers, magicians and deceivers” (APh^A M.14.4)
 - τοὺς πλανήσαντά σε, “those who have deceived you” (APh^A M.14.5)
- To people of the city:
 - τοὺς ἐπιθέτας τούτους, “those plotters” (APh^A M.14.7)
 - τοὺς μάγους τούτους καὶ πλάνους τοὺς πλανήσαντας, “those magicians and deceiving deceivers” (APh^A M.15.2–4)

Priests

- To Tyrannognophos: μάγοι εἰσὶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι, “These people are magicians.” (APh^A M.17.1–2)

John

- To people of the city:
 - οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι, “these people” (APh^A M.22.3)
 - τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους, “these people” (APh^A M.24.4)

Leopard and goat kid

- In prayer: τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν σου, “your evangelists” (APh^A 12.8.10–11)⁸

⁸ This appears to be a reference to the apostles. For other suggestions, see Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler, *Acta Philippi*, 308 n. 11.

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